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Vienna Talks on Confidence-Building Resume 8 Sep

LD0809073389 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Vienna September 8 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov:

Thirty five countries, participants in the conference on security and cooperation in Europe, open the third session of their talks on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe in Vienna's Hofburg Palace today.

They plan to work out a new set of measures to reduce military confrontation on the continent.

Socialist countries want confidence-building measures to cover all military activities, including those involving the air force and the navy, prompting their considerable limitation and more glasnost and predictability in military affairs.

This approach is based on the fact that the mere development of measures provided for by the Stockholm agreements, in present-day conditions is no longer enough and does not meet the main task facing the negotiating sides.

Representatives of 16 Western countries oppose the socialist countries' stand. They propose applying confidence-building measures to ground forces alone, declining under various pretexts to limit military activities and apply confidence-building measures to the air force and the navy.

Despite the differences in the negotiating sides' approaches, local observers do not dramatise the situation at the talks, emphasising that, given goodwill on both sides, their positions can be drawn closer together, which could open way to mutually acceptable agreements.

Commentary on Need To Include Navies in All Talks

LD0709201889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] A representative of the U.S. Command in the Pacific/Indian Ocean area has confirmed that the Pacex-89 maneuvers, set for September-October this year, have started. During the exercises, interaction between various branches of the Armed forces is being worked out. Altogether 80,000 members of the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, and National Guard will be put in action. Lieutenant Colonel (Boyd) also noted that the Pacex program is working out various versions of combat operations ranging from local conflicts to a broader confrontation. At the same time, he declined to give a precise scenario and aims of the present maneuvers, or the composition of the participating countries. Here is a Mayak commentary. Gennadiy Vedenyapin is at the microphone:

[Vedenyapin] Despite the thick veil of secrecy which surrounds the present exercises, it has become known that as well as the United States, Canada is taking part in them and also, it is said, Japan, the Philippines, Australia, and South Korea. The international antiwar organization, the Pacific Ocean Campaign for Disarmament at Sea, describes the Pacex-89 maneuvers as among the biggest in the Pacific Ocean region since the end of World War II. It points out that they are being conducted dangerously close to the borders of the Soviet Union.

The basis of the exercises is to work out a scenario which is provocative in the highest degree, calculated for an all-embracing confrontation with the Soviet Union. Well, after that expanation it becomes clear why Lt Col (Boyd) preferred not to go into detail on the scenario and aims of the maneuvers. Does it have to be said that Pacex-89 has again drawn attention to one of the most urgent questions of disarmament and arms control? I remind you that our country has long wanted naval forces, which are an important component of the military might of states and alliances, to be the subject of active international dialogue. The USSR has long spoken of the need for a joint guaranteeing of the security of sea communications, exclusion of the use of force at sea, and full elimination of fears of states on that score.

However, a number of Western states, including the United States, to this day have a negative attitude toward spreading wide-scale measures of confidence to the naval forces of the NATO and Warsaw Pact states, and to discussion of cuts in naval forces withn the framework of the appropriate negotiations. NATO alleges that risk of a war arising is most likely to be on land. But is that so? On the contrary, it seems that there are far more risks at sea. After all, there are gigantic arsenals of nuclear weapons concentrated in the world's oceans. The world's oceans are a zone of direct military contiguity of big groupings of the naval forces of the two military alliances, and it was not for nothing, for example, that the recent initiative by Iceland to hold an international conference on naval forces in the North Atlantic and the possible full demilitarization of the northern sea region in the future received such a wide response. I shall note in passing that this proposal smacks of the invitation by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his Murmansk speech to the states of the northern region to discuss the long overdue questions of security there.

The initiatives which have come recently from FRG, Poland, and Iceland unambiguously show the growing interest in strengthening peace and security at sea. The world public wants the naval forces of the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries to be increasingly included in the process of disarmament and arms control. This would only deepen the trend toward detente, a trend which is now increasingly dominating the minds and hearts of people.

3d Round of Conventional Arms Talks Starts 7 Sep

Grinevskiy Cited

PM0809113389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent S. Tosunyan report: "Round of High Hopes"]

[Text] Vienna—The third round of talks on conventional armed forces in Europe began at Vienna's Hofburg Palace on Thursday [7 Sep].

As is well known, the 23 countries from the two military alliances of NATO and the Warsaw Pact are taking part in the talks. Tomorrow the participants in the talks on confidence- and security-building measures representing the 33 European countries plus the United States and Canada will begin work in the Hofburg Palace as well.

High hopes are pinned on the new stage of the talks here. Those hopes are based on the fact that the first two rounds enabled the sides to reconcile their positions on a number of questions to a considerable extent, to clarify their conceptual approaches to each other, and to more clearly define the range of problems where differences persist. All the participants acknowledge that the talks were held in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. This probably also explains the optimism with which the delegations are approaching the latest round after the summer recess. The satisfaction at the work that has been done at the talks is also shared by O.A. Grinevskiy, leader of the Soviet delegation and special envoy. Here is what he says:

"The decisive factors which made possible the progress achieved at the talks were the May initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev on behalf of the Warsaw Pact states and the constructive reply to them by President Bush supported by the U.S. allies in the North Atlantic bloc. On the whole then, it can be said that the framework of the future treaty on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe has been created by joint efforts.

"Our task now is to agree on and resolve the technical questions connected with the elaboration of the treaty. NATO has suggested doing that within 6-12 months. Well, we have accepted that challenge. The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries will be ready to conclude such a treaty in 1990. But that needs first and foremost a constructive approach from all the participants.

"The United States and the other NATO countries have taken an important step toward the Warsaw Pact positions by agreeing to a reduction of warplanes. But at the same time they are proposing that air defense aircraft be included in the talks. According to the mandate of the talks the priority is to reduce those armaments which could constitute potential for a surprise attack. Air defense aircraft do not possess those characteristics. They are intended solely to protect vitally important facilities against possible air strikes.

"Take another question—troop numbers. NATO proposes in particular that only the U.S. and USSR troops stationed in Europe outside their national territories be reduced. But why shouldn't the British, French, Canadian, Belgian, and Dutch troops stationed in West Germany be reduced, too? After all, there are 160,000 men there. That is more than 10 divisions. Is this really a trifle to be ignored?

"Besides the impassioned speeches at the Vienna talks by representatives of a number of NATO countries in favor of scaling down the arms race, some of those countries have also been issuing appeals to create new armaments or modernize existing ones. But those two policy lines are incomptible. One leads to disarmament in Europe, the other to the substantial heightening of military confrontation. The plans to modernize and deploy new types of weapons in Europe may impede progress toward the earliest possible achieving of an arms reduction accord.

"The earliest possible elaboration and agreement of the definitions and rules for the calculation of all six categories of armed forces subject to reduction are of fundamental significance from the viewpoint of the exchange of information and verification, too. The solution of these questions is clearly one of the priorities in our present work.

"The USSR delegation is confident that the third round of the Vienna talks will demonstrate the continuity of the positive experience of the previous two rounds and will be an important stage on the path toward accords. All the preconditions for that exist. We shall do everything in our power to ensure the most constructive work possible at the talks and their continuing positive progress."

Socialist Countries Set Goals

LD0709210389 Moscow TASS in English 1651 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent.

Much hope is pinned on the further advance toward the reduction of troops and armaments in Europe in connection with the third round of the talks of the 23 member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO on conventional armed forces in Europe that opened in the Vienna palace Hoffburg today. This hope is based on the positive results of the previous two rounds that passed in a constructive spirit and business-like atmosphere.

A considerable degree of accord and similarity of a number of fundamental positions of the participating countries were established during the previous rounds. The conceptual approaches of the sides have been elucidated, and the stands of the sides on certain questions have been brought closer. A range of problems on which there are still serious differences have been outlined

clearer. Specifically, there is a difference in the approach of the sides to the reduction of the numerical strength of each of the military-political alliances (NATO countries do not visualise the reduction of British, French, Canadian, Belgian and Dutch troops deployed in Europe outside the limits of their own countries). There are also problems in the matters of the reduction of most destabilising armaments—tanks, armoured vehicles, artillery systems, aviation systems.

This is why serious work to bring closer the positions of the sides is expected during the new round. The purpose is to reach specific arrangements on the basis of the progress achieved, to coordinate and resolve a multitude of technical matters, that is to work out and coordinate a treaty. And this should be done within the unprecedentedly brief period of time. As it was already reported, the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries are prepared to conclude such a treaty in 1990, even though this will not be easy to do.

The importance of verification and control over the implementation of the arrangements reached becomes particularly apparent at this stage of the negotiations. Notice was made in the Soviet Union, for instance, of reports which recently appeared in the U.S. media that the United States and other NATO countries will be insisting during the talks that inspectors be installed all over the territory to which the future treaty on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe will apply. In this connection the Soviet diplomatic circles note that any initiatives are thoroughly studied in the USSR and that an opportunity for mutually-acceptable decisions is being sought. If the proposals mentioned in the U.S. press are tabled, the USSR will consider them and state its view.

Socialist countries see their immediate goal in achieving as a result of initial reduction equal ceilings of collective levels of numerical strength and amounts of main armaments in Europe and separate regions for NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries. And the new levels must be much smaller than the lowest levels of each of the sides at present as this would ensure a radical mutual troop reduction and would solve the problem of eliminating imbalances in conventional armaments.

As to the Soviet side, representatives of the Soviet Foreign Ministry note that it will be doing its utmost to ensure constructive work and progress at the talks.

FRG Minister Cited on Hopes

PM0709154589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev dispatch: "With Hope for Progress"]

[Text] Bonn—People in the FRG capital expect that the third round of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces in Europe which resume 7 September will lead to further progress on the road toward an agreement. According to a statement by H. Klein, the official government spokesman, the federal chancellor "is expecting rapid progress." People in Bonn are convinced. SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG writes, that "the Soviet Union is also interested in concluding an agreement in Vienna as soon as possible."

At the FRG Foreign Ministry the "main disarmament official" is Josef Holik, ambassador for special missions. He is in charge of disarmament issues at the ministry, including the Vienna talks. A few days ago the ambassador visited Moscow for consultations and returned satisfied with the talks that had been held. Mr Holik told your PRAVDA correspondent that it is possible to hope that the good momentum which has been achieved at the talks will be maintained and progress will be achieved. The prospects are good on the whole. In response to a request to be more specific Holik replied that above all he expected a positive reaction to the proposal submitted by the West at the end of the second round. He was referring to the consent to include combat aircraft and helicopters in the cuts in addition to the tanks, artillery, and armored vehicles. This additional proposal was, in the ambassador's opinion, in some way a response to the initiatives put forward by the USSR.

As is known, the Western proposals make provision for equal "quotas" of Soviet and U.S. forces on the territories of allied European countries but they do not take account of the major armed forces of the other NATO countries stationed there, above all on FRG territory. When this is mentioned, the ambassador says that people in the West are unwilling to draw a line between European forces on their own and the others' territories. In addition to the European community there is also the Western European Union whose participants are seeking cooperation in the sphere of security. As for the Canadian units stationed in the FRG, my interlocutor takes the view that the inclusion of the Canadians in the cuts would be unproductive since the bulk of the forces is provided by the European partners. Some West European allies who have joint units on the lines of the Franco-West German brigade that is being set up would find it difficult to distinguish between forces on their own and others' territories.

However, there is a problem here, my interlocutor admits, just as is the question of aviation since NATO does not deem it expedient to subdivide it into offensive and defensive aviation, while the Eastern side thinks differently. All this will require further discussion. However, the Vienna talks, Mr Holik noted in conclusion, are being conducted earnestly, without exercises in rhetoric. The atmosphere at them is constructive and very businesslike and this makes it possible to hope that the third round will be marked by progress.

Batsanov Addresses News Conference on Arms Talks

LD0709214589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] A news conference has been held at the press center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR for

Soviet and foreign journalists. Sergey Batsanov, representative of the Soviet Union at the disarmament conference in Geneva spoke to those who participated. In particular, he said:

[Begin Batsanov recording] Recently, 40 delegations, representing states from the most varied regions have been participating in the work of the disarmament conference. Two completely different directions of work, in character and essence, have been planned. The first one is talks on banning chemical weapons—these really are talks, serious ones, profound ones, with the participation of experts, the aim of which is agreeing to a draft convention on the total banning of chemical weapons. It must be said that the draft convention is already, to a significant degree, ready. The second area is all the other questions of disarmament which are on the agenda of the conference, questions that are important in themselves, such as the banning of nuclear tests, the prevention of the arms race in space, the banning of radiological weapons, and so on, but on which work is not being conducted or is going around in circles.

For this reason I will pay the main attention to the problem of chemical disarmament. The work has proceeded very intensively. It is true that movement has been mainly on technical questions, but they are in themselves important. A more profound study of a whole range of important political questions has begun, including the question of under what political conditions to carry out inspections on suspicion, or inspections, on request. Here the majority of states, including the Soviet Union, speaks in favor of such inspections—in the event of an infringement of the convention being suspected—being carried out, first, at the request of any state that participates in the convention; second, at any time; and third, at absolutely any point on any facility of the state, which is, as it were, under suspicion, without any exceptions and without the right to refuse.

This point of view has recently been acquiring a larger and larger number of supporters and has already begun to be embodied in the first draft of the text of the treaty. In sum, one can say that judging by the results of the work.... [pauses] at the talks on the banning of chemical weapons there is now practically all the necessary material for the decisive breakthrough in the convention. [end recording]

Batsanov Sees Progress in Talks

LD0709184889 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—The results of the talks on banning chemical weapons point to a foundation on which it is possible to make a breakthrough in attaining a relevant convention. Sergey Batsanov, Soviet representative to the Geneva conference on disarmament, told a briefing here today.

The talks also showed that there are no unsurmountable obstacles or hardships in the way towards such a convention, he added.

Describing the course of the conference last June and August, he stressed that work was most productive at multilateral negotiations on the convention on the total prohibition of chemical weapons.

Substantial progress has been reached on several important technical issues, such as specification of lists of chemicals subject to control, inspection procedures, protection of confidential information that may become known in the process of inspection.

The parties to the talks also started analysing a whole number of political issues related to issues concerning challenge inspections of "suspect sites".

"The majority of nations, the USSR included, favour the proposal that inspections could be conducted at the request of any party suspecting another of violating the convention—at any time and at any facility without exception and the right of refusal," Batsanov said.

"This viewpoint is winning a growing number of advocates," he remarked.

While positively assessintg the course of the negotiations on banning chemical weapons last summer, he observed that they failed to resolve the tasks advanced by the Paris Conference on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons.

Speaking on other issues discussed during the Geneva conference, Batsanov pointed to the absence of noticeable advancement towards banning nuclear tests, preventing an arms race in outer space and banning radiological weapons.

Replying to a question about the conversion of a chemical weapons elimination project in Chapayevsk on the Volga, he said that this issue rose in connection with objections against the facility on the part of the population and administration of the Kuibyshev region.

Technology of Black Sea Verification Experiment

52000067 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Aug 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Colonel A. Mikhaylov: "What Did the Black Sea Experiment Reveal?"—first paragraph is reader's query.]

[Text] A report has appeared in the press concerning a joint nongovernmental Soviet-American experiment on control over nuclear weapons that was conducted in the Black Sea. I would like to be informed in greater detail regarding the control technology developed by the scientists. V. Chernyshev, Moscow.

As is known, one argument employed by those who oppose an improvement in Soviet-American collaboration in the area of arms control is that today's methods

for technical verification are supposedly ineffective. In particular, this is being said about verifying the presence of nuclear weapons aboard warships. The proposal by the Soviet side to carry out a governmental experiment on monitoring naval deployed nuclear weapons was not accepted by Washington. Thus scientists of the two countries decided to undertake this task, supported by the USSR Ministry of Defense.

An agreement was reached between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the U.S. Natural Resources Defense Council which established the goal of revealing to the entire world the real possibility of detecting organic nuclear warheads in launchers aboard ships.

What were the technical aspects of this experiment? Briefly they were as follows: The fissionable materials of any nuclear charge are a source for various ionizing emissions. Of the great variety of emissions, the principal ones are gamma-neutron emission of plutonium isotopes and gamma-emission of uranium isotopes. A nuclear warhead can be camouflaged in many ways, but the fact that it is nuclear is revealed by its gamma-neutron background radiation. A gamma-neutron background is a unique characteristic of a nuclear weapon and the registration of this characteristic constitutes the technical basis for the experiment. In the process, substantial importance is attached to the fact that a neutron emission possesses a greater penetrating capability than a gamma emission and thus it can be recorded over great distances.

Nevertheless, the very fact of an emission being recorded in the region of an inspected object is not sufficient for drawing the simple conclusion that a nuclear weapon is located at that object. Many materials and units possess their own neutron and gamma emissions. However, there is one peculiarity in this: Nuclear warheads have emissions with unique spectral characteristics. Or, as the specialists say, a distribution of gamma-quanta by energies. All of this was recorded during the carrying out of the experiment.

Based upon the nature of the impending experiment, a determination was made as to the equipment to be employed: a helicopter radiometric complex for long-distance detection of a neutron emission, installed aboard a KA-27E helicopter (verification from the air); gamma-spectrometric equipment with semiconductor detectors, with the equipment arranged directly on the launcher (contact verification); a radiometric unit for long-distance detection of gamma-emissions, which was installed aboard a large amphibious landing ship (verification from sea or shore). The U.S. side used only a portable gamma-spectrometer. Moreover, the answer to the principal question—is a nuclear warhead in the launcher—could be obtained as a result of carrying out gamma-spectrometric verification.

All this equipment, used together, made it possible to carry out the experiment successfully. In their speeches, the American specialists T. Cochran and S. Fetter emphasized that its results exceeded all expectations. At the same time, they pointed out those vulnerable moments which, in their opinion, could take place during the course of carrying out real verification on naval deployed nuclear weapons. For example, the use of special protection for concealing the gamma-neutron emissions of nuclear weapons. As the Americans think, the possibilities for verification can be expanded by using, along with passive methods, active verification methods, based upon irradiating the inspected object with ionizing sensor radiation and recording of the response of the nuclear weapon to it.

It is obvious that all of this can be accomplished. However, it is important to ensure that the parties involved make the transition over from the experimental stage to real verification. Along with the scientists' enthusiasm, will and decisiveness of politicians are needed. The monologue on verification of naval deployed nuclear weapons, which the USSR is conducting, must be transformed into a dialogue between the USSR and the United States.

Perfilyev Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 7 Sep

Says Situation in Azerbaijan 'Tense'

LD0709132989 Moscow TASS in English 1316 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—The situation in Soviet Azerbaijan remains tense, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Many big enterprises in the capital, Baku, including several defence industry plants, stopped work, said Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the ministry's information directorate.

Strikes have spread to Nakhichevan. Enterprises in Sumgait, Sheki, Kirovabad and several other Azerbaijani cities have ground to a halt.

Replying to questions related to the situation in the Transcaucasian Republic, Perfilyev said that all oil-processing facilities, power-generating and oil production enterprises in Azerbaijan were operating.

City traffic, public catering and communal services did not stop work.

According to the Azerbaijani leadership, the strike inflicts heavy material and moral damage, the spokesman said. Only first-day losses amounted to some eight million roubles.

Perfilyev said that only militia forces were being used to maintain order in the republic. No army units are on the streets in Baku and other cities.

Workers' units are being set up to help militia bodies to prevent violence and other disruptions of the peace.

Welcomes Salvadoran Development

LD0709140789 Moscow TASS in English 1341 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—The Soviet Union welcomes the positive trends that have emerged in the latest developments in El Salvador, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stated here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, described as "very encouraging" the reports that the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front suggested to the Salvadoran Government to resume talks on a peaceful settlement of the armed conflict and that this proposal was accepted by President Alfredo Cristiani.

The first meeting between representatives of the two sides is slated to be held in Mexico City on September 10-14.

The Soviet spokesman expressed hope that both sides will display maximum common sense, flexibility and political shrewdness and that the Mexico City meeting will start an effective dialogue on the issue of national reconciliation.

"This dialogue meets the vital interests of the Salvadoran people and the interests of the peoples in Central America on the whole," he said.

Notes Need for Accord in Lebanon

LD0709151589 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—There is an increasingly urgent need for a ceasefire and a peaceful process in Lebanon to restore national accord, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

He said that the Soviet Union will continue to do everything to aid a political settlement in Lebanon, working towards this end both on its own and in cooperation with other countries. The spokesman stressed the special need for the Arab League's trilateral committee on Lebanon to resume its activities as soon as possible.

Comments on El Salvador, Azerbaijan, CW Talks

LD0709162689 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—The Soviet Union welcomes the positive trends that have emerged in the latest developments in El Salvador, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stated here today.

Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the ministry's Information Directorate, described as "very encouraging" the reports that the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front suggested that the Salvadoran Government resume talks on a peaceful settlement of the armed conflict and that this proposal was accepted by President Alfredo Cristiani.

The Soviet spokesman expressed hope that both sides would display maximum common sense, flexibility and political shrewdness and that the Mexico City meeting would start an effective dialogue on the issue of national reconciliation.

Passing over to the Vienna talks, Perfilyev said that favourable and businesslike atmosphere was taking shape at the Vienna talks which created good conditions for achieving mutually acceptable agreements as soon as possible. He commented on the statement of West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on the beginning of the third round of the Vienna talks on conventional arms in Europe. Genscher emphasised that the talks were offering a good opportunity to resolve the key problem of European security.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed the urgent need to achieve a ceasefire in Lebanon and begin a peace process there to restore the national accord. He emphasised that the Soviet Union would continue

working for a political setlement in Lebanon, individually and jointly with other countries.

Many big enterprises in the capital of Azerbaijan, Baku, including several defence industry plants, stopped work. Strikes have spread to Nakhichevan. Enterprises in Sumgait, Sheki, Kirovabad and several other Azerbaijani cities have ground to a halt. However, all oil-processing facilities, power-generating and oil production enterprises in Azerbaijan are operating.

City traffic, public catering and communal services did not stop work.

Only militia forces were being used to maintain order in the republic. No army units are on the streets of Baku or other cities.

The speakers also included Sergey Batsanov, Soviet representative to the Geneva talks on disarmament. He said that the talks on banning chemical weapons point to a foundation on which it is possible to make a breakthrough in attaining a relevant convention and pointed out that there were no insurmountable obstacles or hardships in the way towards such a convention. At the same time, he said that the talks had failed to resolve the tasks advanced by the Paris conference on the prohibition of chemical weapons.

TASS Reviews Nonaligned Summit Conference

LD0809090989 Moscow TASS in English 0659 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade September 8 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Vladimir Baydashin, Anatoliy Bocharov, Viktor Kuznetsov:

The ninth non-aligned summit conference in the Yugoslav capital ended on Thursday after four days of intensive debates in which representatives of 102 developing countries and national liberation movements were working out a coordinated stand on most burning problems of the present. Certainly, not everything proceeded smoothly in Belgrade. There were disputes and recriminations, and this is natural for the Non-aligned Movement unites various states ranging from absolute monarchies to socialist republics. But in unanimous opinion of most leaders of the delegations, the Belgrade forum passed successfully. It was addressed by 75 heads of state and government.

The participants in the forum showed much interest in the message of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to Janez Drnovsek, chairman of the ninth non-aligned summit conference. State leaders of the Non-aligned Movement are of the opinion that it met with broad response and understanding.

The stand of the movement on topical questions was reflected in the final documents worked out by the conference. They include the fundamental document, the declaration, as well as a number of resolutions on specific political and economic problems of the present.

The declaration says that the non-aligned countries regard it their duty to consolidate peace and develop cooperation among all countries, to charter the road to future based on the principles of peace, equality and justice. The political climate in the world improved considerably over the recent years. An encouraging progress has been achieved in the solution of regional and global problems. But the political detente should be accompanied by appropriate actions in the area of economic development of countries, most of all developing countries, in the establishment of a new equitable international order.

The declaration emphasises the importance of achieving complete disarmament, above all elimination of weapons of mass destruction. The steps of the USSR and the USA aimed at the reduction of their military arsenals and armed forces are welcomed.

Non-aligned countries are concerned over the nuclear arms race and armed conflicts, some of which are long drawn out, the document says. The Non-aligned Movement is determined to participate vigorously in all the efforts to eliminate springwells of tension in various areas of the world.

It is noted with satisfaction that decolonisation is about to be complete. The main task of the Non-aligned Movement is eradication of colonialism and putting an end to the economic enslavement of peoples. The movement supports the United Nations Organisation that has stood the test of time and has become indispensable in regulating international relations.

Non-aligned countries are prepared to participate in the joint quest for effective and acceptable solutions to the international economic problems, intend to establish a constructive and effective dialogue with industrialised countries on economic problems. The most important task is the solution to the problem of non-aligned countries' foreign debt which surpassed 1,300 billion dollars. Noting that the state of the ecology has become the chief world problem on the threshold of the 21st century, the movement is determined tdo participate in all undertakings of the international community for environmental protection.

The conference also discussed special resolutions on various problems of the situation in the world, including such as international security and disarmament, the Middle East, Palestine, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Southern Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Cyprus, international economic relations, external indebtedness of developing countries, the critical economic situuation of Africa, environmental protection.

These resolutions set out the Non-aligned Movement's stand on these topical questions and express the striving to promote by joint efforts the irreversibility of positive changes taking place in the world and intensive effort of

non-aligned countries to ensure for all nations a worthy place in the world community. The resolutions formulate the further political course and the common approach of 102 countries to world affairs.

Rogachev Receives Asia-Pacific Committee Members

LD0609194689 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev today received participants in a session of the organising committee for the second international conference, "Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation", to exchange views on burning issues related to the region.

Participants in the conversation stressed that ideas and proposals set out at the organising committee's session would facilitate productive preparations for the conference.

Representatives of Australia, Vietnam, India, Canada, Malaysia, China, Mongolia, New Zealand, Singapore, the United States, the Philippines and Japan took part in the meeting.

United States & Canada

President Bush's American Legion Speech Viewed

LD0809092889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1815 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Washington, 7 Sep (TASS)—Correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy reports:

President George Bush today spoke at the latest annual congress of the American Legion, the association of former U.S. servicemen, in Baltimore. Having recalled that 50 years have passed since the beginning of the Second World War, the President said: "Before us stands the global task of saving the United States from the fear of war. And the best means of defending freedom and ensuring real peace is, as we know from the Second World War, the military might of America."

To ensure this, the President continued, it is necessary to modernize the U.S. strategic forces. "This moderniztion is vitally necessary, because the United States must base its decisions on that future potential and on those arms which can be at the disposal of any Soviet leader.

"Here there are encouraging signs, as Mr Gorbachev is taking a number of steps to curtail the threat posed by the massive military machine of the Soviet Armed Forces. We greet some of these steps and hope that there will be more of them, many more.

"But at the same time, we cannot encourage the Soviet Union to curtail its forces by unilaterally disarming ourselves. Progress has been achieved precisely because we are strong. So far, as far as cutting strategic systems is concerned, Soviet words do not correspond to Soviet deeds," affirmed G. Bush. "Our strategic forces modernization program must reply to the deeds and encourage the Soviet Union to cooperate with us in the business of curtailing the threat of nuclear war," said the present master of the White House, repeating the idea of his predecessor, President Reagan, who argued that to cut strategic arsenals it is necessary to increase them, in order to have "trump cards" in negotiations with the USSR.

Many members of the Democratic Party have always sharply objected to such an approach, pointing out that increasing arms with the object of subsequently cutting them (if, of course, this is the real object of increasing them) is nothing other than throwing money to the wind. Proceeding from this reasoning, the U.S. Congress House of Representatives, controlled by the Democrats to a greater extent than the Senate, has resolutely reshaped the draft military budget for the 1990 financial year submitted by Bush. In his speech in Baltimore he stated that the draft law affirmed by the House is "absolutely unacceptable." In this connection the President was defending his proposals on financing in 1990 and 1991 the construction of two submarines of the "Trident" strategic nuclear system, and the creation of a mobile strategic missile with one warhead, together with the development of mobile MX missiles, with 10 nuclear warheads. Bush also spoke in defense of the "Stealth" B-2 strategic bomber, which many specialists consider too expensive, and Reagan's "Strategic Defence Initiative", whose allocations have been cut by both the House of Representatives and the Senate, in comparison with the administration's request.

"Let us modernize our strategic forces so as to facilitate arms control," Bush appealed.

U.S. 'Ultra Conservative' Circles Hamper Relations

LD0709125389 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

The Soviet-U.S. meeting in Wyoming in September is in the focus of attention of the international public and the press. This is quite understandable because the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state are reported to be discussing a whole range of important issues, from disarmament and regional conflicts to human rights and bilateral relations. Much has been already done to tackle some of these problems. Others, still to be solved, are being negotiated. Noting the importance and fruitfulness of Soviet-U.S. dialogue, the mass media bodies in various countries express the hope that the Wyoming meeting will pass in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere.

This is the "general mood". Against this backdrop, the pronouncements by representatives of those American circles which are keen on hampering the development of Soviet-U.S. cooperation strike a discordant note. As an example one can cite the article by well-known American journalists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, recently published by THE WASHINGTON POST under the heading "No time for a Wyoming Love-in".

One is apt to ask why the current autumn is no time for "love-in", by which the authors mean nothing more than serious Soviet-U.S. talks. Neither Evans nor Novak give an articulate answer to this. Instead, they hold forth at length on the current processes in the Soviet Union and the national problems in our country. They claim that the American administration should prepare itself not for the Wyoming meeting, but for... response "if Gorbachev uses force to smother independence for the Baltic states."

So much for the advice which Messrs Evans and Novak give to Washington.

Let us not guess at what kind of "sources" two journalists from Washington use in their prophecies, pushing the Administration towards the exacerbation of relations with the USSR and not towards their improvement. The hand is well known and has been long familiar to us. This is the hand of those ultra conservative, extremist forces in the USA, which earned a far from enviable fame for

using cock-and-bull stories about the Soviet Union to hamper Soviet-U.S. relations at the time of tensions and cold war....

Let bygones be bygones. But today the times are totally different. It is high time that one should realise this and relegate the confrontation stereotypes to the archives once and for all.

House Stance on Military Budget Angers Cheney

PM0709134989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[F. Smirnov report: "Pentagon Chief's Anger. Congress Resumes Work"]

[Text] After the short quiet spell in August, Capitol Hill in Washington is busy again. U.S. legislators have returned to the capital after their summer recess. The 101st Congress resumes work today.

Indisputably the most important issue which the legislators will be tackling without delay is the ratification of the military budget for the next fiscal year starting 1 October. Before rising for the summer recess both houses—the Senate and the House of Representatives—adopted their own versions of the draft law. While coinciding on the main point—$305.5 billion dollars is to be allocated for military spending—the versions differ substantially in the details. Whereas the senators to a considerable extent met the administration's requests, the members of the lower house decisively cut spending on the "star wars" program and the B-2 Stealth bomber. Appropriations for the rail-mounting of MX missiles were halved and the Pentagon request to develop [razrabotka] new Midgetman intercontinental ballistic missiles was completely rejected. Both drafts will go to the Congress Conference Committee, which will work out the final compromise version.

Unfortunately, as soon as the United States starts talking about ratifying the military budget, the hoary old "Soviet military threat" is trotted out again. This time too the position of the House of Representatives has angered U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney, who has sharply attacked it.

The Pentagon chief accused it of unjustifiably cutting important programs and of an excessively "rosy" view of Soviet military intentions. Cheney, one of the administration's most conservative representatives, stated that some of his former colleagues (he himself was also a congressmen a few years ago) have been too quick in believing Soviet promises about armed forces cuts.

Cheney's statements clearly run counter to recent statements by President Bush and Secretary of State Baker, who have made a positive assessment of Soviet disarmament measures. It seemed that the defense secretary's speech went against official administration policy and would trigger at least symbolic White House criticism. However, these expectations were misplaced. White House spokesmen noted that Cheney's speech reflected Bush's views and had "essentially been approved" by National Security Council staffers.

Defending the position taken by congressmen, House Speaker Thomas Foley took public exception to the defense secretary's statement. He told journalists that the policy of glasnost has made it possible to get a better handle on the situation in the USSR, "and as a result everyone has seen for themselves that the Soviet arsenal is by no means as large" as had previously been supposed. The steps along the path to democracy in the Soviet Union have "changed the position of many members of Congress" with regard to Moscow.

Questions of ethics are an important part of Congress' work. As was expected, a new "code of conduct" for legislators will be drawn up. In particular, the fees received by congressmen for lectures and speeches—which are often a disguised way of earning money from interested circles—will be considerably limited or even abolished altogether. Senators can currently earn $35,800 a year and congressmen $26,850 in addition to their salaries. And it can hardly be a mere accident that, for instance, members of the armed services committees earn huge fees from companies and organizations representing the military-industrial complex.

Among the other points on the agenda is the plan of William Bennett, director of the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy. According to numerous opinion polls Americans consider drugs to be public enemy No. 1. The new plan envisages combating the narcotics trade within the country and measures to stop drugs smuggling.

Social welfare, environmental protection, and economic aid for Poland—that is just a quick glance at the list of problems to be tackled by congressmen in the near future.

The most serious problem for them, local observers believe, will be the question of where to obtain the funds to finance these programs. The President still completely rules out the introduction of new taxes. Other options—increasing state debt and issuing new loans—also face considerable opposition. But the effectiveness and success of the entire 101st Congress will depend on how quickly the U.S. legislators solve the financing problem.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Visit by Indonesia's Suharto to USSR Reported

Suharto Visit Previewed

BK0809024689 Hong Kong AFP in English 0200 GMT 8 Sep 89

[By Bryan McManus]

[Text] Jakarta, Sept 8 (AFP)—President Suharto, a staunch anti-communist, begins his first visit to Moscow

on Monday [11 September] to boost ties with the Soviet Union, once a close ally of Indonesia in the fight against "U.S. imperialism."

"A new climate of rapprochement and reconciliation is asserting itself in many regions and continents and spreading across geographical as well as ideological boundaries," Mr. Suharto, 68, said this week.

Officials here announced the widely-expected visit last month as a milestone in bilateral ties, 25 years after the last Indonesian leader went to Moscow.

Sukarno, Indonesia's first president, went to Moscow in 1964 at a time when the Soviet Union was Jakarta's largest supplier of aid and arms, backing its opposition to growing U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Then a major-general, Mr. Suharto came to power after leading a ruthless army suppression of an abortive 1965 communist coup attempt, blamed on China.

He formally replaced Mr. Sukarno in 1967 and the "communist menace" has since been a constant theme of his government. Ties with Moscow have been correct but hardly warm.

In a commentary Wednesday, the nationalist MERDEKA daily described how in a changing world Western countries were queueing up to do business with Mikhail Gorbachev's reforming Soviet Union and asked: "Why not Indonesia as well?"

"There is no reason to fear improved relations with the Soviet Union," the newspaper said, adding that reservations could only come from "certain vested interests ... who have relied on other countries."

Observers said MERDEKA was probably referring to continued deep suspicion of communism in some quarters here and Indonesia's strong ties with Washington.

THE JAKARTA POST, recalling how valuable Soviet support was in the early 1960s, said of the visit: "It is clearly in the interest of Indonesia's future if all the countries of the Asia-Pacific region can coexist in an atmosphere of peace and cooperation—a condition which the Soviet Union also desires."

Soviet ambassador to Jakarta, Vladimir Semenov, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE he expected the two leaders to cover a wide range of issues, including the now stalled peace talks on Cambodia in which Indonesia has played a leading role.

Mr. Semenov also said he was optimistic about boosting bilateral trade which fell from 98 million U.S. dollars in 1987 to 83 million dollars last year.

Moscow could supply Indonesia with mining and oil equipment and heavy machinery, he said, apparently referring to Soviet infrastructure projects here that were hurriedly abandoned as relations nose-dived after the coup attempt.

In return, Indonesia could increase sales of tropical products such as coffee, rubber and fruits as well consumer goods such as jeans, which he said were much sought after in the Soviet Union.

Last week, a unilever joint venture here exported some six million dollars worth of laundry and bath soap to the Soviet Union, taking advantage of Mr. Gorbachev's plan to import consumer goods ease. [sentence as received]

"To develop a healthier and more stable pattern of trade, we need to further expand our trade links with the socialist countries," Trade Minister Arifin Siregar said at a ceremony marking the first such shipment.

Indonesia began serious consideration of trade with the East bloc after its oil-dependent economy was battered by falling prices in 1984 and growing protectionism threatened its traditional markets in the West.

Mr. Suharto has previously visited Hungary and Romania.

Western diplomats here, while agreeing that Mr. Suharto's visit was a considerable achievement for Soviet diplomacy in the region, discounted any possibility of renewed military cooperation between the two countries.

The Soviet military equipment Indonesia still had, for example in its Navy, was too old to be usefully refurbished and Jakarta was firmly wedded to its main Western arms suppliers, the diplomats said.

Mr. Semenov, for his part, said he could not "exclude the possibility" that the subject of military cooperation might be raised in Moscow.

Mr. Suharto, who was in Belgrade attending his first Non-Aligned Movement summit in nearly 20 years, arrived Thursday in the Soviet city of Tashkent. He will begin his two-day official visit Monday in Moscow as Mr. Gorbachev's guest.

The president's entourage includes his wife, Coordinating Economic Affairs Minister Radius Prawiro, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas who visited Moscow in May, State Secretary Murdiono and Armed Forces commander General Try Sutrisno.

Indonesian officials said Mr. Suharto would also visit Leningrad and Semarkand while Gen. Try would tour several military installations.

Suharto Speaks in Tashkent

BK0809100189 Jakarta ANTARA in English 0928 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Tashkent, September 8 (ANTARA)—President Suharto has stated that his visit to the Soviet Union, the first by an Indonesian president in 25 years, means a concrete step to foster friendship and to develop cooperation between the country and Indonesia.

In an address during a dinner party hosted by the president of the Presidium of the Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet, Mirzaolim Ibragimov, here Thursday evening, he said that Indonesian people at present are busy with development activities to increase their physical and spiritual welfare.

On the other the people of the Soviet Union, Uzbekistan in particular, are also paying serious attention on various economic issues, the head of state added.

President Suharto also expressed the hope that with "glasnost" and "perestroika" initiated by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev development activities in the country will also turn out significant success.

Meanwhile Ibragimov in his address hoped that President Suharto through his visit will know the people of the country better including the recent changes in their life.

He further said that the visit of a state guest from Indonesia is manifestation of the positive changes now taking places in the world as well as of the positive developments in the Soviet Union-Indonesia relations.

The dinner party took place at the Tashkent meeting hall and was attended by ranking local officials.

Also highlighting the event were a number of traditional Uzbekista dances.

President Suharto and some of his delegation members Friday morning visited Samarkand, about 400 kilometers from here.

Samarkand which also belongs to Uzbekistan is a major cotton producing region.

Among the interesting spots in Samarkand is the grave of Imam Al Bukhari, a pioneer of Islam in Uzbekistan.

In this Muslim Soviet republic a Muslim theological school had even been set up in the 16th century.

Cambodia's Heng Samrin Visit to SRV Reported

Visit Ends; Joint Statement Issued

LD0609175989 Moscow TASS in English 1731 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Hanoi September 6 TASS—Cambodian leader Heng Samrin completed his official friendly visit to Vietnam today.

During the three-day visit, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia and chairman of the State Council, had talks with Nguyen Van Lynh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The sides informed one another about the situation in their countries. They expressed mutual satisfaction with the development of relations of friendship and all-round cooperation between the two fraternal parties, countries and peoples and pointed to the need to further enhance the efficiency of their interaction.

A joint statement, adopted by the sides upon the completion of the visit, said that Vietnam "fully supports Cambodia's permanent neutrality, proclaimed by the Cambodian National Assembly on July 20."

The sides pointed to the importance of the April 1989 statement of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos on the full withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia before the end of September, and noted its consistent implementation.

The statement said that this "proves the Cambodian Army's ability to defend the country itself and shows Vietnam's respect for Cambodia's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity."

Vietnam and Cambodia said that the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops should not be followed by restoration of the Pol Pot genocide regime, and that foreign aid to the conflicting sides, as well as foreign interference in Cambodia's internal affairs, should be terminated.

The two countries noted that the international Paris conference had helped negotiating sides to "achieve common ground on topical aspects of the problem. However, major differences, blocking all-round settlement, still persist."

The main obstacle, the statement said, is the stand taken by representatives of "Democratic Kampuchea" and supported by a number of conference participants. These representatives seek to use the Vietnamese troop withdrawal to change the alignment of forces in their favour.

Vietnam and Cambodia called for the further strengthening and developing of traditional ties between the fraternal parties and peoples of the three countries of Indochina.

They fully supported the Lao Government's July 24 proposals for making South East Asia a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality, friendship and cooperation.

The sides reiterated the adherence of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the People's Revolutionary Party of Cambodia and of the two states to the policy of Strengthening solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, of developing relations of friendship and cooperation with India and normalising relations with China.

They emphasised their readiness to establish and develop contacts with other countries of South East Asia and the whole world on the basis of respect for independence, territorial integrity and soverignty, and noninterference in one anoiner's internal affairs.

The participants in the talks expressed their warm support for and solidarity with the struggle of peoples of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

Joint Communique Issued

PM0709154989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "The Aim—a Settlement"]

[Text] Hanoi, 6 Sep—Today a 3-day official friendly visit to the SRV by a party and state delegation of the State of Cambodia headed by Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has ended. During the visit talks were held between Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Commitee, and Heng Samrin. The sides briefed each other on the situation in their respective countries.

The SRV, a joint communique on the results of the visit which has been circulated here states, fully supports the permanent neutrality of the State of Cambodia which was proclaimed at a session of the National Assembly of the State of Cambodia 20 July this year.

The sides take the view that the Paris international conference produced points of contact in respect of topical aspects of the problem, but that great divergencies persist which hamper the achievement of a comprehensive settlement. The main obstacle is the stance of the representatives of so-called "Democratic Kampuchea" who, with the support of a number of the conference participants, are trying to make use of the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces in order to change the alignment of forces to their advantage.

The sides reaffirmed the commitment of the CPV and the KPRP and the Vietnamese and Cambodian states to the course of strengthening solidarity and all-around cooperation with the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries, developing relations of friendship and cooperation with India, and normalizing of relations with China.

SRV Government Reports on Cambodia Withdrawal

PM0709151589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Ahead—the Final Stage"]

[Text] Hanoi, 5 Sep—The withdrawal of the last subunits of Vietnamese volunteers from the territory of the State of Cambodia will be carried out 21 through 26 September this year. This is stated in an SRV Government report disseminated here. The document points out that Vietnam withdrew 24,000 servicemen from Cambodian territory during the period from May through July in accordance with the statement by the governments of the three Indochina countries of 5 April this year. Thus, the remaining 26,000 Vietnamese volunteers will leave Cambodia during the concluding stage of the withdrawal.

The State of Cambodia and the SRV would welcome the participation of both cochairmen of the International Conference on Cambodia, the chairman of the nonaligned movement, the UN secretary general, representatives of all countries, of international organizations, and of the mass media, and also all interested persons in observing the procedure of the Vietnamese volunteers' final withdrawal, the report states.

Cambodia Situation After Conference Assessed

BK0709072589 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] The situation in Cambodia remains tense despite developments at the Paris conference, which can be attributed to the efforts made by the attending diplomats. Our observer, Comrade Viktor Valentinov, writes:

Tension in Cambodia increased slightly in the past few days. One opinion is that the situation will get worse with the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia; another view says that the tension is aggravated because opposing Cambodians affirmed that the root cause of tension in Cambodia is the presence of Vietnamese troops. However, all Vietnamese troops will leave Cambodia on 26 September. How come tension still remains? Is Vietnam responsible for this? Let us examine this together.

The interpretation of ideas was based on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and the agreement by opposing Cambodian groups on a political solution. However, everything went quite differently despite the desire of the Cambodian Government and Vietnam to solve the problem. Political forces are still divided because of disagreements, the machinery on reaching a power-sharing agreement did not materialize, and all Vietnamese troops will soon be withdrawn. After this, what is going to happen? The following is a likely scenario. After the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, the Phnom Penh Government will continue to maintain control over the situation in the country where the government has been preserving peace and order. Along with this, dialogue among warring Cambodian parties will continue on an agreement for a political solution. This solution requires a lot of time but will help restore peace and stabilize the people's life. The Cambodian Government is ready to accept a solution which was heard in Paris. However, from the opposing groups, I have not seen any signs showing their desire for this.

I also see another scenario. According to reports from the Cambodian-Thai border, the Pol Pot army is making preparations to step up the conflict against the government's forces. Khmer Rouge camps on Thai soil fired artillery shells into Cambodian territory. The Khmer Rouge has received a lot of weapons. Is this in preparation for a political solution or for a civil war? People

have always thought about this, but the majority of observers believe that this is a secondary question. What the Cambodian people do not want is war.

Malaysia's newspaper BUSINESS TIMES has confirmed that the Khmer Rouge is preparing to settle the account in Phnom Penh on the battlefield. What does this account settlement mean? Pol Pot and his associates have not hidden their desire to seize power in Cambodia after losing it in January 1979. If this theory of settling the account is correct, what will happen? There will be an arms escalation, the situation will deteriorate, and the obstacles created by the Khmer Rouge will worsen.

You may have heard that the Pol Pot group's stance in Paris was an obstacle to the conference. Pressure from Western countries prevented the groups of Samdech Sihanouk and Son Sann from eliminating the Khmer Rouge stand which blocked the negotiations. In a difficult and sometimes complex situation, Phnom Penh has not hidden its position. Collective efforts should be made to eliminate the military ambitions of the Pol Pot clique; a guarantee should be provided to prevent this clique from returning to power; and peace negotiations should continue. This will help avoid a civil war in Cambodia.

Hun Sen Remarks Blaming Sihanouk Cited

PM0709154489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Hun Sen Statement"]

[Text] Phnom Penh, 4 Sep—The international conference on Cambodia in Paris failed to achieve a satisfactory result because it departed from the accords reached at the Jakarta meetings. Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers and foreign minister of the State of Cambodia, said at a press conference here.

He stressed that whereas formerly Prince Norodom Sihanouk had taken a step forward toward a settlement of the Cambodian problem, he has now taken three whole steps back. Hun Sen placed all the blame for the failure of the conference on the leaders of the Pol Potites, who will do anything to prolong the war in Cambodia.

Visit by Thai Radio Officials Reported

BK0809071789 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Text] A delegation of the Public Relations Department of Thailand arrived in Moscow for a visit of the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet National Radio and Television Service. The group is led by the department's director general, Manit Warintharawet. It is believed that the two sides will sign a diplomatic protocol on radio and television cooperation between Thailand and the Soviet Union.

Aquino's Rumored Deal on Bases Reported

HK0409052589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Commentary by Viktor Vladimirov]

[Text] Philippine President Corazon Aquino has denied widespread rumors that she has initiated talks with the Americans on the matter of the retention of military bases in the Philippines.

The real motive for spreading these rumors, or wrong information, is so the military bases can remain permanently at their full strength. Additionally, statistics are quoted to show that the bases provide jobs to close to 70,000 Filipinos who earn $90 million yearly. Added to this is the assertion that the bases provide protection for the country. However, this perception is gradually eroding, as can be seen in the latest action taken by those Philippine senators who have now changed their minds on the matter of retaining the American military bases. The resolution put forth by 15 out of 23 senators reveals that the majority, if not more than half, of the legislators are opposed to retaining the bases after the expiry of the agreement in September 1991. This means that most of the senators taking this stand will not ratify any agreement that may be signed by the Aquino Government.

According to the Indonesian newspaper Merdeka, the action by the Philippine senators reflects the wishes of the people, not only of the Philippines, but also of those of the ASEAN countries who seek to make the Southeast Asian region a zone of peace that is nuclear-free and non-aligned. Merdeka also called for an end to the thinking that peace can only be achieved by military means. In truth, it can be seen that the presence of foreign military bases only serve as tinderboxes that lead to war. This was also the thinking behind the recent conference at Sanur Beach in Bali, Indonesia, between the governments of Indonesia and America which dealt with bilateral relations and regional security. The theme of the meeting, which was sponsored by the Jakarta Center of Strategic Studies and the U.S. Asia Fund, centered on how to end the Cambodian conflict. Also discussed was the American military presence in Southeast Asia, and what effect this would have on Cambodia. Some of the conference speakers issued warnings that if Washington did not clearly state its aims for the region, this would create problems during the post-Cambodian period.

Indonesian Defense Minister General Murdani accused Washington of employing double standards in its military aims in the region, which he called destructive for ASEAN members. Analysts said this statement by Murdani may be connected to recent reports that Washington and Singapore are starting talks to set up American military installations in Singapore.

The Indian newspaper, The Stateman, called Singapore's proposal a threat to its neighbors, saying that a military presence in the region will threaten the region's security and sovereignty.

Meanwhile Washington, in an effort to counter all the negative reaction to this plan, announced that no other discussions followed the general statement on this issue.

Singapore, for its part, declared that it was merely trying to help the Philippines provide space for American warships and planes but that a consensus on this must be reached. Despite all these statements, people's fears for the region have not been calmed, especially regarding a solution to the Cambodian problem and the normalization of the situation in the region. This is the real reason Filipinos and other Southeast Asians now view the American bases in a different light, because they see that the recent proposals are contrary to the wishes and hopes of the ASEAN countries. That much is clear.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Spokesman Cited on Khowst Situation

LD0709210689 Moscow TASS in English 1941 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Kabul September 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovsky:

Combat actions around the eastern Afghan town of Khowst have practically ceased. The Afghan Army has regained control over the town of Tani, General Abd Al-Haq Ulumi, secretary of the Supreme Defense Council, head of the Armed Forces' Department of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan's Central Committee, reported at a news conference held for foreign journalists today.

The rebels' yet another attempt to seize Khowst has been thwarted, he stressed. Having lost the hope of getting hold of Jalalabad, Ulumi said, rebel units supported by Pakistani armed tribal formations and foreign advisers, launched a massive offensive against Khowst about a fortnight ago. The rebels surged into attack on the threshold of the 9th Non-aligned Summit Conference in Belgrade to have some political gain for their "transitional government". The operation was planned to be completed by September 1, but the attacking rebels were routed. The situation in the Khowst district is practically normal now.

As many as 96 rebel commanders, 23 foreign advisers and 42 Pakistanis were killed in the course of combat actions all over the country in the past 15 days, the general said. About 1,000 rebels were put out of action in the Khowst district alone. 15 armed formations came over to the side of the government and protocols were signed with 40 groups on cessation of hostilities.

The internecine war between the Hokmatyar-led Islamic Party of Afghanistan and the Rabbani-led Islamic Society of Afghanistan gunmen is widening, Ulumi said. The total losses amounted to over 1,700 men in two months since the beginning of the conflict in the Takhar province. The conflict is involving units of other "Islamic" parties, coordinating their actions against Hokmatyar men, Ulumi said.

A large column with food and ammunition reached Qandarhar from Shindand practically without losses. The military-political situation in the country has lately on the whole considerably improved, he stressed.

'Opportunity' Develops From Afghan Rebel Pullout

PM0709092789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov "Observer's Opinion": "Has an Opportunity Emerged?"]

[Text] The withdrawal of the largest Afghan rebel grouping—G. Hekmatyar's "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" [IPA]—from the so-called "mujahidin transitional government" is undoubtedly continuing to attract the attention of those who are not indifferent to the situation in and around Afghanistan. The withdrawal was a consequence of the disagreements between the IPA leadership and the other groupings belonging to the Peshawar "alliance of seven," which had manifestly been exacerbated and taken the form of bloody fighting between IPA formations and "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" detachments in the north of the country.

This step by G. Hekmatyar will evidently play a positive role in the further development of events in Afghanistan itself, since it strikes one more palpable blow, as REUTER emphasizes, against "the Afghan resistance, which is not noted for its unity anyway." And it is no coincidence that precisely during these days there has been a sharp exacerbation of the situation in the Khowst district, where rebels have undertaken major offensive actions, and barbarous shelling of Kabul has resumed. The intransigent opposition, acting on the orders of the U.S. and Pakistani special services, is seeking to create an impression of its own strength and monolithic stature.

The demarche undertaken by P. Tomsen, the U.S. representative to the "transitional government," clearly ranks with this. Speaking in Peshawar, he slanderously alleged that the USSR sends weapons and ammunition to the value of $7 million to Kabul every day and maintains more than 300 military advisers in Afghanistan. The Washington spokesman needed these fabrications to justify in the eyes of the public the continuing U.S. interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. For only recently Washington began supplying the rebels with large consignments of weapons, including new modifications of rockets designed for long-range shelling of Afghan cities.

Washington and Islamabad are using new arms deliveries across Pakistani territory to try to cheer up the "intransigents" and to prompt them to escalate combat operations against government troops. But how much "firewood" can be thrown onto the Afghan bonfire?! "It is time the West recognized," the London newspaper

THE INDEPENDENT, for example, writes, "that military victory is impossible for either side and that it is necessary to begin the process of restoring peace in order to prevent the further negative development of events in this part of the globe."

Under these conditions the withdrawal of the IPA—the "most extremist and most cruel" rebel grouping, according to the general definition—from the "transitional government" is reassuring. The breakaway of G. Hekmatyar's party could help to unite the remaining groupings in the "alliance of seven." As the INDIAN EXPRESS writes, at the present time "Afghanistan's only hope is that the mujahidin and the Kabul leaders will somehow be able to begin a dialogue. Even though the possibility of this is small, without Hekmatyar and his extremist killers the chances of talks improve."

It will be a pity if this opportunity is not utilized.

Pakistani Convicted of Spying in Kabul

LD0709230389 Moscow TASS in English 1619 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Kabul September 7 TASS—A special national security court in Kabul today sentenced Pakistani national Mohtiar Ghol to 20 years' imprisonment after convicting him of espionage against Afghanistan.

Ghol, a Pakistani military intelligence officer, was arrested in Konduz Province after unlawfully entering Afghan territory to spy on the Afghan military.

His mission included, among other things, photographing facilities at Khayraton port and staging acts of sabotage against ships carrying Soviet food and other cargo to Afghanistan by the Amu Darya river.

Diving equipment and explosive devices were confiscated from Ghol during the arrest.

Chad-Libya Agreement Discussed

PM0709154089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 89 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Sergey Filatov article under the rubric "Our Correspondent Comments": "Laying Down Arms"]

[Text] Algiers, 4 Sep—At the end of last week the leaders of the Libyan and Chadian foreign policy departments signed a peace agreement in the Algerian capital which, if strictly fulfilled, could put an end to nearly 16 years of hostility.

The sides agreed to lay down their arms and resolve by political means, within a year, the dispute over the ownership of the border region known as the "Aozou strip." If the problem is not finally settled in that period, the question will be submitted by common consent for examination by the international court in The Hague.

The conflict, which flared up in 1973, has a long prehistory. France and Italy owned the "Aozou strip" alternately in the late 19th and early 20th century. For them, this mountainous sector of African soil was not an object of dispute. Then two countries—Libya and Chad—became independent and presented their claims to it, as soon as it became clear that the strip is rich in useful minerals, including uranium. Each of them claimed that the region had belonged to its former metropolitan power in the past.

Military clashes took place, followed by U.S. interference and the appearance of French Armed Forces formations in Chad. According to some estimates, the contingent now numbers 1,500 men.

The latest flareup of hostilities was in 1987, after which tension began to decline. Here the general warming of the world political climate played by no means the least important part. In September 1988 Chad and Libya agreed on a cease-fire, and a month later diplomatic relations, broken off long before, were restored.

Meanwhile the "Aozou strip" has remained a disputed territory, and only the agreement now signed, through the mediation of Algeria and in its capital, seemes likely to promote a final reconciliation.

The agreement provides for the withdrawal of all troops from the disputed region and its handing over to the control of African observers; an exchange of prisoners of war—Chad, incidentally, has already announced the release of the first group of Libyans; the cessation of mutual hostile attacks, including propaganda attacks; and in the future—the signing of a friendship treaty.

It is noteworthy that the Chadian-Libyan peace agreement was signed on the eve of the 20th anniversary of the Libyan revolution, as a kind of holiday gift, esepcially to families which have members who are being held in captivity. The hope of eliminating another seat of tension in Algeria has become realistic.

Reportage on Vlasov Delegation Visit to Libya

Delegation Leaves Libya for Home

LD0309060789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0430 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] A Soviet delegation, led by Comrade Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, which took part in the festivities marking the 20th anniversary of the Libyan revolution, left Tripoli for Moscow. The delegation was seen off at Tripoli International Airport by Mubarak al-Shamikh, General People's Committee secretary for communications and maritime transport.

Vlasov Reviews Visit, Lauds Relations

LD0609205289 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] On the 20th anniversary of the Libyan revolution, a Soviet delegation, led by Aleksandr Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Republic Council of Ministers, took part in the festivities marking this occasion. Our correspondent, (Nikolay Gilikov) met him, following the return of the delegation from the Libyan Jamahiriyah, and asked him to talk about this visit:

Aleksandr Vlasov says that our participation in the festivities marking the Libyan revolution national day once again emphasizes the firm and strong character of relations between the Soviet Union and Libya. These relations have been going through the tests of time, they developed into conventional relations characterized by deep respect and esteem between our two peoples. I would like to point out that during the past 20 years, the Soviet Union has stood alongside the Libyan Jamnahiriyah, it provided it with support for its struggle in its right for an independent progress.

Alongside our Libyan friends, we are sincerely happy to witness their success in achieving a modern life, an original and independent society. Therefore, it gave us great pleasure to take part in the festivities of the Libyan people and to witness the achievements of the friendly country.

[Question] What is your impression of Libya and its peoples?

[Answer] I like the country and very much like its people. Despite our short visit, we met ordinary people, saw the places of interest in the Libyan capital. This was my first visit to Libya. I was greatly impressed by its Middle Eastern character, its streets and markets. I was also particularly impressed by the efforts for the festivities, and I believe the rest of the delegation had the same impression. The parade lasted for more than 6 hours, the sports games in Tripoli's main stadium were beautiful, thousands of people took part in this festival. Also, a military parade took place, as did various meetings and marches. I was impressed by the activity and energy of the people, as well as their interest, which means that the people approve of the leadership's efforts, these efforts are aimed at defending and developing the achievements of the revolution.

It is worth noting that the Libyan people's successes during this brief time are not small. A modern industry on oil prospection has been introduced in the country, industries related to metal, machines, agriculture and the social field have been developed; the health service as well as the pension scheme are excellent; a large-scale educational program is being implemented. In short, Libya's achievements are really excellent.

[Question] Did you have meetings with the Libyan leadership? Can you tell us anything about this?

[Answer] Yes, during our visit we had lengthy talks with 'Abd al-Salam Jallud, member of the Libyan revolution leadership. We talked in details about the restructuring reforms in our country. We indicated that we are critically revising the experience of our development, and the development of mankind in general. We are revising the obsolete and old positions, and replacing them with ones compatible with current situations related to a number of international issues. We believe that the Libyan side understands a number of operations underway in our country. 'Abd al-Salam Jallud, a member of the Libyan leadership, for his part briefed us on the current situation in his country. He talked about the economic situation in the country, and the problems facing his country. Our dialogue was very interesting.

[Question] How do you value Soviet-Libyan relations?

[Answer] Economic relations are increasingly developing. It is known that a number of projects were set up in Libya thanks to Soviet aid. Suffice it to mention the huge center for nuclear energy research, a 570 kms oil pipe and various other projects. I believe that the horizons of our economic relations are enormous, particularly these days when Soviet institutions are gaining more independence; they would be able to establish direct mutual contacts with Libyan counterparts. I would like to state a very important truth: It is the consolidation of cooperation between our countries that can solve a number of international matters. One can say that Libya's share in solving the international situation is becoming increasingly apparent, either in good neighborliness in North Africa, or the construction of the Arab Maghreb Union, or other issues in which Libya is playing a constructive role.

During the festivities marking the 20th anniversary of the revolution, a peace treaty with Chad was signed. This shows the good determination of the Libyan people, as well as the leadership. We support such steps by all means. Aleksandr Vlasov said that the horizons of cooperation on an international scale are broad, and will increasingly develop.

In conclusion, Vlasov said: I would like to take this opportunity to warmly and sincerely congratulate the Libyan people on this anniversary. I wish all Libyans good health and success in life, and more progress toward the building of a new independent society.

Reason for Impasse in Iran-Iraq Talks Discussed

NC0809104689 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Aleksandr Batyev commentary]

[Text] UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar has stated that his efforts to end the impasse in the Iran-Iraq peace talks were not successful. Perez de Cuellar said this

in Belgrade after his talks with the Iranian and Iraqi foreign ministers who are participating in the Ninth Nonaligned Summit.

We asked our analyst Aleksandr Batyev to comment on the outcome of these talks.

[Begin Batyev recording in Russian, fading into Persian translation] The UN Secretary General's failure was not unexpected because before his meetings in Belgrade, there were no signs of interest by Iran or Iraq in reconciliation. Both countries remain firm on their former stands. Moreover, Tehran believes that the Nonaligned conference is not the most suitable venue to propound views on the solution of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

[Announcer-read question] Tehran's approach to the Nonaligned Movement can be said to be mingled with suspicion up to an extent. But can ignoring the life-instilling impact that the Nonaligned Movement could have had on the Iran-Iraq talks be a logical thing to do?

[Batyev, in Russian, fading into Persian translation] Frankly, the Nonaligned nations called for an end to the Iran-Iraq war during their past conferences. However, their calls were not coupled with definite steps because the Iran-Iraq peace talks were taking place under the aegis of the United Nations and not under the aegis of the Nonaligned Movement. It was heard several times at the Belgrade conference that the Nonaligned Movement should become directly involved in the solution of bilateral conflicts between member-nations and namely between Iran and Iraq. If these proposals are implemented, then the role of the Nonaligned Movement in solving the Iran-Iraq conflict will truly be increased.

[Announcer-read question] This is correct. But until then, is there no hope that the United Nations can help bring Iran and Iraq closer to an agreement? We know that even the UN efforts too have not been successful until now. The recent remarks by the UN Secretary General in Belgrade also manifests this fact.

[Batyev, in Russian, fading into Persian translation] I think that under current circumstances, Iran's and Iraq's neighbors—that is, the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] in the Persian Gulf—should play a role. These countries are seriously concerned that Iranian-Iraqi relations are undetermined, something which is naturally detrimental to regional security. The GCC members decided during a recent conference to increase their search for paths leading toward reconciliation through talks with both Iran and Iraq. Recent signs that show Iran's wish to normalize its relations with Saudi Arabia are encouraging. It is possible that mediation by the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf may be the very element which will help the United Nations to score a success in its efforts to end the impasse in the Iran-Iraq talks.

Iraqi, Iranian Summit Participation Discussed

NC0409130089 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] Persian Gulf representatives are actively participating in preparations for the ninth nonaligned summit in Belgrade. They see the support for the Nonaligned Movement to be a strong element in consolidating peace, good neighborliness, and regional stability. Our commentator writes:

I think that such a spirit speaks of Iraq's readiness to carry out direct talks with Iran on bilateral relations during the Belgrade meet. It should be noted that the nonaligned members gathering, which will be filled with decisions and views on world reconstruction on the basis of the principles of peace and justice, will help the two sides to emerge from the impasse faced in solving their conflict and to return to the negotiating table.

It is true that pessimists regard Iraq's stand as one rejecting a solution of the differences with Iran through UN mediation. But I think that this is a baseleSs worry. Baghdad has, with all its actions, shown that it respects the United Nations as an element for preserving peace. Baghdad agrees with the UN Security Council Resolution 598 as a political pattern for a political solution and for bilateral talks under the aegis of the UN secretary general and as a mechanism for peace. It is clear that Iraq regards direct contacts with Iranian representatives as a [word indistinct] in international efforts to establish peace and good neighborliness in the region.

We think that since the talks have reached an impasse, and despite the persistent efforts of the United Nations to achieve progress in this, no unfavorable [word indistinct] can be seen in direct talks between the two sides. These talks will help both sides to realize each other's wishes and will also lead to a consolidation of trust—that is, the key element needed for successful talks.

We (?hope) that the Iranian and Iraqi colleagues in the Nonaligned Movement will not spare any effort for a fruitful political dialogue.

The failure to reach a solution in the Iran-Iraq confrontation created negative (?belligerent) trends in the Persian Gulf. The religious rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia intensified and led to their differences on the Hajj. NATO naval forces, which have increased with the Lebanese crisis, continue to remain in the region.

(?It is only within the framework) of the Nonaligned Movement that serious efforts can be exerted toward finding a solution to the problem that has been created. The Nonaligned Movement's role in the struggle to make the idea of (?peace) prevail in the world is very significant. Now that a new outlook is gaining more ground in the world—an outlook that disagrees with the confrontation between military pacts and which grants priority

to using political means to solve regional and international problems—the possibility of the nonaligned members' affecting international relations is also increasing. This is what Soviet (?observers) believe.

We think that the stands of the Soviet Union and of Iran on the normalization of the situation in the Persian Gulf and in the Indian Ocean meet the ideals of the Nonaligned nations. These stands were reflected in the joint communique issued after the visit paid by the honorable Iranian guest, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Iran's current president, to the Soviet Union. In this communique, the two sides especially pointed to the significance of the UN role in solving the Iran-Iraq conflict. They called for changing the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean to areas of peace and calm which are free from all weapons, including nuclear and chemical weapons. Both sides believe that the complete withdrawal of all foreign naval and military forces from this area can ensure this. The joint Soviet-Iranian communique referred to the special role of the Nonaligned Movement as an important element in world politics. Both sides believe that this role is [word indistinct] in the solution of international problems.

USSR-Indian-PRC Economic Cooperation Advocated

PM0709140589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent O. Kitsenko dispatch: "In Keeping With the Spirit of the Times"]

[Text] Delhi, 2 Sep—The times are past when any mention of China and of steps in the direction of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations evoked negative emotions in India. Lately the public of the three countries is not just seeking to rid itself of former fears and prejudices but is also investigating new spheres of mutual cooperation.

Addressing a seminar on Indian-Chinese relations in Hyderabad, Dinesh Singh, Indian minister of commerce, put forward the idea of close economic cooperation between three countries—India, USSR, and China. This cooperation could change the balance of the world economy. It is necessary, he said, in the interests of the three countries, to open a dialogue with a view to elaborating a common strategy in obtaining foreign credits and technologies. The coordination by the three countries of their economic strategy in the sphere of the liberalization of trade and foreign capital investment would ensure their more balanced economic development.

Dinesh Singh believes that the creation of a grouping made up of these three countries would be useful because in a situation where the closed economic communities which exist in Europe, North America, and the Pacific are seeking to penetrate other countries' markets, India, the USSR, and China—countries with extensive markets and a vast potential for growth—could help to restore the balance in world trade. In the minister's opinion they could exchange experience and set up joint ventures and this would accelerate the pace of their economic development.

The ideas expressed by the Indian minister are so far of a most general nature, of course, but they unquestionably deserve to be studied since the cooperation between these three major countries of the world, which are moreover neighbors, could undoubtedly greatly benefit their peoples and the democratization of international economic relations.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Foreign Ministry Statement on Angola Released

PM0809094389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

["USSR Foreign Ministry Statement"]

[Text] Alarming reports are again coming out of Angola. The process of achieving a political settlement initiated by African countries now risks being wrecked because of the provocative actions of opposition groupings of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA].

Disregarding the 22 August decision reached at the Harare meeting of heads of eight African states on Angola, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has stated that he intends to continue hostilities against Angola's legitimate government.

While pursuing the line of political settlement the Angolan Government has been forced to adopt measures to assure the population's security and defend national interests.

It is perfectly obvious that this bellicosity on the part of Savimbi is fueled by continuing support, including military support, for UNITA from South Africa and the United States. UNITA is essentially throwing a challenge down not just to independent Africa but also to the Nonaligned Movement, which at its ninth conference of heads of state and government advocated a halt to hostilities in Angola.

The current situation in Angola is bound to disturb the world community. At a time when the prospect of a transition from war to peace has finally begun to appear in Southwest Africa, the actions of UNITA and the external forces supporting it can only be regarded as a blow to the aspirations of millions of Angolans and the other peoples of this region of Africa.

Confirming their line of supporting African countries' efforts to achieve a political settlement in Angola and the firm and consistent position adopted by the Angolan Government, the Soviet Union considers that success in the negotiating process can be achieved only by halting all foreign interference in the country's internal affairs. All those involved in the internal Angolan conflict are

today required more than ever before to demonstrate political realism and promote in every way the peacemaking initiatives approved by Africa which open up a real opportunity to eliminate one of the most dangerous centers of regional and international tension.

Further on Statement

LD0709172489 Moscow TASS in English 1710 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—While confirming its support for the African nation's efforts to achieve a political settlement in Angola and that country's stance, the USSR believes that success of negotiating process can only be reached by ending all foreign interference in that country's internal affairs, says a statement by a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, circulated here today.

The process of political settlement is jeopardised by provocative actions by the opposition UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group.

The UNITA leader, Jonas Savimbi, announced his intention to continue fighting against the legitimate Angolan government contrary to decisions of the Harare summit of eight African nations of August 22.

It is perfectly obvious that Savimbi's pugnacity is being kindled by South African and U.S. support for UNITA.

All parties involved in the Angolan conflict are required more than any time before to display political realism and render all-round assistance to peace initiatives, the statement says.

Ethiopian Envoy Delivers Mengistu Message

PM0709151389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 5 September USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.P. Aboimov received Asrat Wolde, ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE], who handed over a message for M.S. Gorbachev from Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee and chairman of the PDRE [title as published].

Mengistu Speech, Atlanta Talks Discussed

EA0609120589 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 31 Aug 89

[From the "A Few Out of Many" feature]

[Text] The 10th regular session of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee has been held in Addis Ababa. In his report, President Mengistu Haile Mariam, secretary general of the WPE Central Committee, pointed out that the country's current priorities are to resolve the problem in the north and give depth to economic changes. The action program drawn up during the ninth regular session of the WPE Central Committee held in November 1988 was presented and plans were outlined to solve the problem in the northern region by political means.

It would seem that a tangible opportunity to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in northern Ethiopia has arisen since last year. Representatives of the Ethiopian Government will hold talks with Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] representatives in Atlanta City in a few days' time. It is well known that the EPLF is the most powerful of the separatist organizations opposing the government. Although the Atlanta talks will be on procedural matters, Ethiopian leaders see them as the first step towards realizing their desire for a peaceful solution. President Mengistu Haile Mariam said the peace process was decisive for the country's future and pointed out that Ethiopia's envoys would be sincere in their approach. He added that resolving the conflict in northern Ethiopia would depend on a similar approach by the opposition forces and their readiness to accept the peace proposals of the Ethiopian Government.

The regular session also discussed the country's economic affairs. It is a known fact that the prolonged war has consumed most of the government budget and has been a heavy burden on the economy. It can be said that the economic crises have been aggravated by the drought which has affected extensive areas. The fall in the world price of coffee, which is Ethiopia's main export, has seriously affected the economy. Although for the first time economic growth exceeded the pace of population growth by 2.9 percent, over the past few years the expansion of industry and services fell short of the plan. A similar situation has affected the agricultural sector. Although satisfactory results have been achieved in the economic sector and production has risen by 5.8 percent the task of achieving self-sufficiency in food production remains a priority.

Maksim Yevgenyev says that although Ethiopia currently faces major problems, it could have brighter prospects. The legislation approved recently by the Ethiopian State Council with the aim of creating a healthy economy, stimulating economic activity, increasing industrial and agricultural growth and attracting foreign and local investment is an important package of measures. It is not difficult to understand that economic development in Ethiopia cannot be realized unless the costly war in the northern regions is halted and the crumbling economy revived.

The documents of the concluded 10th regular session of the WPE Central Committee clearly reflect readiness to persevere with the efforts to resolve the northern conflict speedily.

Further on Mengistu Shengo Speech

EA0609120889 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] The Ethiopian leader, Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, told the regular session of the Shengo, being held in Addis Ababa today, that the government sincerely wishes to find a peaceful solution to the problem in the north of the country. He said that an agreement had been reached on holding talks with the opposition Tigray People's Liberation Front in the near future. It has already been reported that representatives of the of the Ethiopian Government will hold talks with the Eritrean People's Liberation Front in the American city of Atlanta on 7 September. Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter will act as arbitrator.

Soviet Ambassador to Equatorial Guinea Replaced

PM0709134189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Sep 89 Second Edition p 8

[Unattributed report: "News Item"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Lev Aleksandrovich Vakhrameyev USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Boris Anatolyevich Krasnikov of his duties as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Equatorial Guinea on his reassignment.

East Europe

Polish Culture Minister on Appointment

PM0709150989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Sergei Suslikov dispatch: "Urgent Flight From Omsk to Warsaw"]

[Excerpt] Omsk—Late in the evening on 6 September Izabella Cywinska, a Polish producer, who was working on contract at the Omsk Drama Theater on Moliere's play "Tartuffe," agreed in principle to take on the leadership of the Polish Ministry of Culture in a telephone conversation with Polish Prime Minister T. Mazowiecki.

Izabella Cywinska is leaving Omsk a month before the premiere.

"This is a temporary position, as you say here. I came to Siberia to work on 'Tartuffe' with the wonderful actors of Omsk Theater. Everything was going well. And then, like a bolt from the blue, a telephone call from Warsaw, a minister's portfolio, and... 5 hours to think it over. What is to be done? The situation in the country is complex. There is no money, and when people are waiting in line for sausage, culture moves into the background. But people believe in me, they put their hope in me... That is why it is impossible to refuse."

Polish Government Formation Process Viewed

PM0709152589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent L. Toporkov: "Poland: Heated Arguments About Ministerial Portfolios"]

[Text] Warsaw—In the Polish capital Polish Council of Ministers Chairman T. Mazowiecki is continuing his meetings and consultations connected with the formation of a government. To all appearances, there are heated arguments on the subject between different parties and groupings.

After the new government head had met again with Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee First Secretary M. Rakowski and PZPR Deputies' Club Chairman M. Orzechowski, they both expressed satisfaction with the course of the conversation. L. Walesa held a press conference in Gdansk. He said that he did not like all this, because, he said, there was a "tone of jubilation" in the PZPR figures' utterances. Moreover, he observed, the main thing should be not which organization gets a particular package of ministerial portfolios, but that the portfolios go to competent people.

"A New Government Monday?"—in a commentary under this headline ZYCIE WARSZAWY reports on Sejm Marshal M. Kozakiewicz's utterances to the effect that hearings for candidate ministers will begin 8-10 September in the parliamentary commissions. It is expected that T. Mazowiecki will first introduce them at a closed session of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, with the PZPR Deputies' Club meeting the next day. The opinions of the parliamentary commissions are not binding on the premier, but it is assumed he will listen to them. The Sejm will vote not on each individual candidate, but on the whole list of new cabinet members. T. Mazowiecki can be expected to deliver a report on the composition of the cabinet at a Sejm session on 12 September, the paper reports.

Of course, everyone wants to know who exactly the government head is proposing. GAZETA WYBORCZA gives some forecasts, based on information from the parties. It is assumed that K. Olesiak will remain vice premier for the United Peasant Party. Emotions have been aroused by party leader R. Malinowski's candidacy for the post of foreign minister. All the key posts in departments handling the economy will go to "our ministers," the "Solidarity" mouthpiece writes. Among them, Professor W. Trzeciakowski is a certainty for one of the vice premierships. The chairmanship of the Radio and Television Affairs Committee, which is very important to "Solidarity" and to the PZPR, will go to K. Kozlowski from the Catholic weekly TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY.

As for the PZPR, according to the paper, another three ministerial posts and one vice premiership, as well as the ministries of national defense and internal affairs, have been reserved for it. But what paper will be the official government organ? It has always been assumed that it would be GAZETA WYBORCZA. But it is now denying these rumors, claiming that RZECZPOSPOLITA will remain the government organ.

This is all supposition, but, it is said, it is close to the truth.

But the harsh reality of life is daily making itself felt. Trade unions are urging the prime minister and "Solidarity" to hold an urgent discussion of the difficult economic situation: Prices, particularly of food, are soaring and the indexation system, which was introduced not long ago and was intended to adjust pay in accordance with the rising cost of living, has not worked, and the so-called "marketization" of the food industry has caused an avalanche of price rises without improving supplies. It is interesting that the protracted process of the formation of the new government is only aggravating the situation.

Lech Walesa Appeal to Western Firms Reported

PM0709131589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Sep 89 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Interview With L. Walesa. 'Take Heart and Help Us!'"]

[Text] The West German newspaper SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG has featured an interview with "Solidarity" leader Lech Walesa given on the eve of his visit to the FRG.

Our dilemma, L. Walesa stated in reply to a question about the plans for implementing economic reforms, is that we have no money to finance them. We have already gone quite a long way politically, but we have no money. That is why I am appealing to you, to the West, to take heart and help us!

Come to us with your banks and firms, L. Walesa continued. I will provide premises for your banks. If there are opportunities in Poland for good deals which will be profitable for both you and us, then let's make use of them.

Western businessmen tell me that, to their great disappointment, there are no phones, facsimile communications, or good roads in Poland. To this I can only say that if we had these things we wouldn't need you. We are letting you into the country because we need you, not because we like you. We are offering you deals so that you can profit by them along with us.

CSSR Leaders Send Thanks for Greetings

PM0709151189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[CSSR leaders' message to Gorbachev, Ryzhkov in reply to congratulations on Slovak Uprising anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
To Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers
Dear Comrades!

Please accept our sincere gratitude for your congratulations on the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising.

Forty-five years ago, in our joint struggle against fascism, friendship between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union was born and strengthened. Today our two countries are united by the common aims of revolutionary perestroyka and efforts aimed at the advancement of new thinking in international relations. We express confidence that our friendship and all-around cooperation will continue to develop dynamically.

We wish the Soviet people, inspired and led by the CPSU, great success along the road of renewal, improvement, and development of socialism.

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee
Gustav Husak, president of the CSSR
Ladislav Adamec, premier of the CSSR Government

Amity Society Plans for Upcoming Albanian Jubilee

PM0809094789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Session Held"]

[Text] A session of the Soviet-Albanian Friendship Society Central Board was held in Moscow 6 September.

It was devoted to events to be organized by the Soviet public in connection with the upcoming 45th anniversary of the Liberation of Albania from fascist occupation—Albanian Liberation Day.

Zhivkov, Maslyukov Discuss Soviet-Bulgarian Ties

PM0709154289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Strengthening Collaboration"]

[Text] Sofia, 4 Sep—Questions of perestroyka in the USSR and Bulgaria and the tasks that the CPSU and the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] are tackling at the present stage were discussed during a meeting held here today between T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State

Council, and Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. They stressed the common goals and tasks of the two countries and noted the need for the study and creative application of the collective experience accumulated in the course of transformations.

For the further deepening of cooperation between the USSR and Bulgaria, great significance is attached to the accords reached by the two countries' leaders during their meeting in Moscow in June 1989, it was stressed in the course of the meeting. In this connection concrete questions connected with their practical implementation were discussed. Particular attention was devoted to the further development of bilateral economic, scientific, and technical cooperation and the improvement of its mechanisms. The need was stressed to implement major bilateral scientific, technical, and investment projects and deepen production sharing and direct ties.

Questions connected with the coordination of national economic plans for 1991-1995 were also examined.

Hungarian Party Central Committee Holds Plenum

PM0709132189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Plenum of Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee"]

[Text] Budapest, 2 Sep—A Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee plenum has been held in Budapest. Its participants heard a report on the results of the tripartite political talks on the coordination of interests and, on their basis, formulated the MSZMP's stance which will be presented when the talks continue. The plenum discussed draft laws on the submission of amendments to the Hungarian constitution.

The plenum examined the most important political events due to take place before the MSZMP Congress on 6 October next and also heard a report on progress in the preparation for the congress.

Speeches by the majority of the plenum participants stressed that the MSZMP must not end the activity of its organizations in work places. At the same time it was noted that it is necessary to create the conditions for other political forces to exist at enterprises. According to the Central Committee's proposal, parties should not conduct political activity at enterprises during work time or become involved in production issues.

TANJUG Cited on Lifting of Kosovo Measures

PM0809110089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov report: "Special Measures Lifted"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade—TANJUG has reported that the SFRY Presidency has analyzed the preparations for the Ninth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Nonaligned Countries, which begins in Belgrade on Monday 4 September, and concluded that everything planned beforehand to ensure its successful running has been carried out. Confidence was expressed that all the conference participants will have good conditions for fruitful work, and the inhabitants of the Yugoslav capital will offer the traditional warm welcome.

The session also examined the sociopolitical situation in the autonomous province of Kosovo. It is not only the inhabitants of all the Yugoslav republics who are now attentively following the situation in that province, where for a long time nationalists and separatists have not been properly rebuffed. In the course of preparations for the Belgrade conference, some people abroad expressed doubts: Will the SFRY be able to conduct the forthcoming crucial international meeting at the necessary level in the conditions of acute clashes in Kosovo? And although, after the imposition of special measures in February of this year, tension in the province has been declining month by month, some people outside the country have tried repeatedly to fan the dying embers of the conflict and misinform the world public.

First a European Parliament delegation, then American congressmen tried to slander the conference host country; the congressmen made a prolonged attack on Yugoslavia, accusing it of human rights violations—and not only in Kosovo. Yugoslavia repeatedly refuted these accusations, which are based on rumor and conjecture. Of course, the situation in Kosovo remains fairly complex to this day; after all, extremist conspirators were operating there for a long time, with the aim of separating the province from the SFRY. To the credit of the federation's leadership, at the first opportunity, as the situation in Kosovo improved, it progressively lifted the restrictions imposed there. Virtually the last of them were just lifted, at the recent SFRY Presidency session. Only a ban on demonstrations remains for the time being.

TANJUG also reports that the SFRY Presidency session adopted a decision on pardoning people convicted for extremist criminal actions. Some 57 people were released from prison, while 14 had their prison sentences reduced. The Presidency stressed the importance of consistent, rapid implementation of the all-Yugoslav program for the development of the autonomous province and the stepping up of political work with the working people, especially young people.

The federal government is devoting much attention to stabilizing the situation in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

West Europe

Gerasimov in Italy; Discusses Brezhnev Doctrine

AU0809091089 Rome ANSA in English 0819 GMT 8 Sep 89

["Pol/Gerasimov at DC's "Friendship Fest"—ANSA headline]

[Text] (ANSA) Montecatini, Italy [no date as received]—The head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Department, Gennadiy Gerasimov, told an audience here that, "in the Soviet Union of today we have replaced the Brezhnev doctrine, which exists no longer and perhaps never existed, with the Frank Sinatra doctrine, from the title of one of his famous songs, "I Did It My Way."

The Soviet foreign ministry's chief spokesman delivered his startling statement Thursday in the midst of debate on, "The East West Dialogue, A Path for Peace," the debate was one of the events staged for the Italian Christian Democratic Party's [DC] "Friendship Festival" underway in this spa town north of Florence.

Gerasimov went on to say that, "I think, in fact, that each Eastern country is doing it its own way."

The Soviet authority, addressing himself to Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev's new policy course, said, "the people see in him the knight of hope" and noted that he is hindered by regional conflicts and ethnic clashes among the Armenians and Azebaijani. These developments, he said, "offer hardline advocates an excuse for criticizing perestroyka."

"There is, however, the tendency of the Soviet Government to settle them no longer through military means but with the strength of politics, just as we have re-established good relations with the United States, China, Iraq, Iran and Israel through negotiations," Gerasimov noted.

After recalling that only one country, Albania, does not want relations with the Soviet Union, the Foreign Ministry official said, "but we will wait."

The others taking part in debate here Thursday were Bruno Orsini, an official of the Christian Democrats' foreign affairs department, Emilio Colombo, the president of the party's European Union, the head of the party's political secretariat Franco Maria Malfatti, US. Department of State consultant Edward N. Luttwak, and Italian journalist Arrigo Levi.

Luttwak, who called for higher levels of cooperation, described Gorbachev as, "the real author of reform, despite some wild horses attempting to block him. Up to now they have made this coachman necessary but if they calm down, other coachmen could come," said the American.

"Anyway, the West must not organize plots against the Soviet Union or sabotage government actions," he added.

According to Colombo, there are two significant points in recent developments in the international situation: the transition from a balance of terror to widespread political dialogue among nations and the loosening of the Yalta principle according to which international balances were forced through the prisms of the spheres of influence of the Soviet Union and the United States.

"Today," said the Christian Democrat official, "this rule has been replaced by the principle of co-responsibility in the management of international balances which is making evident progress."

Referring to the Council of Europe, Colombo said this body, "should become an effective instrument for peace and dialogue with the East." In this connection, he ventilated the prospect of Poland and Hungary joining the Council of Europe, "if the democratic process there is not arrested."

Another party official, Malfatti, insisted on the need to extend the global peace drive to areas where regional conflicts are underway.

Levi, for his part, said the Soviet revolution was widely awaited and that it came just as the West was beginning to despair and occurred because the West was capable of maintaining a tough line.

Ideology Department Head Yegorov Visits Lisbon

PM0809091589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation Departs"]

[Text] At the invitation of the Portuguese Communist Party a CPSU and PRAVDA delegation headed by V.K. Yegorov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department, left Moscow for Lisbon 6 September to attend the festival of the newspaper AVANTE.

Admiral Makarov Interviewed on Visit to Turkey

LD0709212289 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—Soviet Admiral Konstantin Makarov, chief of the Main Staff of the Soviet Navy, has noted progress attained in bilateral Soviet-Turkish relations in the military sphere.

In a TASS interview he commented on the results of his official visit to Turkey, which ended yesterday.

In the course of the visit the Soviet admiral met with commander of Turkey's naval forces, Army Admiral Orhan Karabulut, acting chief of staff of the naval forces, Vice-Admiral Gukmen Kececi, commander of the fleet, Army Admiral Irfan Tinaz, other fleet commanders.

"The conversations have been frank and constructive", Makarov stressed and noted that the Turkish military leaders express satisfaction with the contacts in the military sphere, specifically between Turkey's naval forces and the USSR's Navy.

In the Admiral's opinion, his visit to the main naval Gelcuk base, a frigate, a naval lyceum, the Karamursel training centre, his acquaintance with the system of training Turkish naval personnel testify to a great extent of the Turkish side's openness.

Much attention was paid during converstions to the passage of warships through the Black Sea straits, Makarov said. "The commanders of Turkey's naval forces assured the Soviet side that they would continue to strictly abide by the provisions of the 1936 convention on the free passage through the straits by warships of any water displacement from the Black Sea states, including the Soviet Union."

"The visit passed in a well-wishing and friendly atmosphere", Admiral Makarov said.

Voronin, French Industrialists Discuss Consortium

PM0809091389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Developing Cooperation"]

[Text] L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received B. Burlet, managing director of the French consortium for trade with the USSR, and representatives of Total, one of the biggest French petroleum companies, 6 September. During the meeting questions of the development of new forms of bilateral economic relations and the establishment of a Soviet trade and economic consortium were discussed.

Netherlands Christian Party Wins Elections

LD0709062889 Moscow TASS in English 0613 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] The Hague September 7 TASS—The extraordinary parliamentary elections have been held in Netherlands.

Candidates from 23 political parties competed for 150 seats in the second chamber of the states-general, the parliament.

According to preliminary estimates, the Christian Democratic Appeal Party has received the greatest number of votes. The party will form the country's government.

Thatcher 'Aid Plan' for Poland Noted

PM0709135389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Sep 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Poland: No Government Yet"]

[Text] London, 6 Sep—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has called on the leaders of leading Western powers to provide urgent aid to the new Polish government.

In her messages she has set out proposals described by the press as the "Thatcher plan for aid to Poland." It consists of four points: urgent food deliveries, review of the deadlines and terms for repaying the vast foreign debt, abolition of customs barriers by the EEC which prevent Polish goods from entering Western markets, and the teaching management skills to the Poles. All this, the prime minister points out, is needed to build a new economy.

Scientific Agreement Signed With Finland

LD0609085389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1909 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] A draft protocol on the development of scientific cooperation between the USSR and Finland, which will supplement the 1982 planned program of cooperation in the field of natural and social sciences, has been prepared by the participants in the 35th session of the interparliamentary Soviet-Finnish Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation which has completed its work in Tallinn. The two sides have signed final documents of the session which provide for an expansion of cooperation in the field of technical science, the development of technology, an increase in organizational flexibility in cooperation, and cooperation in working out conditions for the legal protection of the results of joint research.

"We hope that our commission will make a contribution to the preparation of the summit meeting which is to take place in the near future in Finland," said Vladimir Yezhkov, chairman of the Soviet part of the commission and deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, speaking at the end of the session. [passage omitted]

The communique that was adopted notes that the commission heard reports from the two sides about the activity of the working parties, on the advance of Soviet technology and equipment, and also licensing for the Finnish market; and noted that as a result of working through the Soviet proposals a number of contracts have been concluded on a commercial basis, a joint enterprise has been set up, and talks are being conducted in geology, powder metallurgy, welding, and other areas. The sides decided to hold the next session of the commission in 1990 in Finland.

Latin America & Caribbean

Teitelboim Discusses Upcoming Election in Chile

PY0409232089 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2000 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Chilean Communist Party [PCCh] Secretary General Volodia Teitelboim last night issued a fervent call to spare no efforts to secure a victory for Patricio Aylwin and to obtain a decisive majority in Congress in the elections scheduled for 14 December.

Over a limited radio network, the PCCh addressed all Chileans for the first time in 16 years. Teitelboim, who spoke from Santiago, said that all of us will mobilize as of this moment to let Chile live a normal life and to make sure that the dictatorship ends and that the people win.

Here is the text of Volodia Teitelboim's speech:

We, the Communists, have wholeheartedly taken part in the electoral campaign. We are doing our best to ensure the victory of Aylwin and to obtain a majority in Congress on 14 December. This event will be a milestone in Chile's return to democracy. We are approaching the final stretch. We are participating in this battle with considerable hope, but we are on the alert because we know that those elections will have many deficiencies and inequalities.

The regime has taken pains to set tight rules for the future of the country, faithful to its evil objective of making the future democratic governemnt prisoner to the self-appointed Armed Forces' commander in chief, who will remain in his post until 1998. Through the enforcement of regulations that were approved at an unusual time and that were designed to favor its candidates, the regime has manipulated the electoral system in order to distort the people's will.

To this end the regime eliminated the proportional system, which has been the historical system of Chile's multiparty tradition.

With total cynicism, official intervenors have manipulated the configuration of districts and regions at will, driven by a desperate obsession to win at any cost something that the people would never agree to give them.

The people are confronting a state that operates like a trap, a state that has resorted to tricks and low blows to ignore the people's will. The opposition has thus been compelled to try harder, to unite, and to increase its strength in order to overcome the different types of organized fraud and the artificial barriers erected by the tyranny.

The PCCh stressed that the best answer to this shameless manipulation will be a landslide victory for democracy—a victory which could displace Pinochet and his regime forever; a victory which could restore freedom, meet the most pressing needs of the people, restore truth and justice, and once and for all end the abuses of this dark period.

The victory of democracy will allow the Armed Forces to occupy their legitimate position in Chilean society so that Chile may again be regarded as a civilized country, a country that will no longer be the target of accusations or condemnations on human rights violation charges at the United Nations.

Fully aware of our responsibility and the magnitude of the challenge, the PCCh and the leftist sector, as part of the opposition, will spare no sacrifice to secure an important victory by electing Patricio Aylwin president of the Republic and establishing a decisive majority in congress for the opposition, including the United Left and the PAIS [Broad Party of the Socialist Left].

In our opinion, said Volodia Teitelboim, this is not just an electoral campaign. We do not see it as separate from the social mobilization carried out by people burdened by hundreds of daily problems, a mobilization to recover their rights to food, jobs, health, housing, and education—to a way of life worthy of human beings.

Five or six million hungry and poor Chileans is a scandal, and they deserve a share of the wealth of those who took over the country's government.

We need to demand and defend the respect for life that has not been guaranteed during these past 16 years in our fatherland. A single day does not go by without a defender of freedom becoming a victim of the regime's repressive apparatus.

The communist representative added: We want peace for Chile. We want the deadly violence and terrorism unleashed on 11 September 1973 to end once and for all.

The Chilean dilemma continues to be democracy or dictatorship, liberty or tyranny, perpetuation in power or a new life. Volodia Teitelboim has indeed made a call to get organized, to unite, and to convince.

The perpetuation of power is now called Hernan Buchi. We must all unite to defeat Pinochet. Buchi is his man.

Teitelboim pointed out that the people did not make a mistake. They just had to change a letter of Buchi's propagandistic slogans to restore the truth: Buchi is not the man; rather, he represents hunger.

In its 15th congress the PCCh made a call to defeat the minister who has made millions of people poor, the minister who has now become a demagogue and is promising the moon and an unrealistic world for the people; that is, the minister who is promising everything he failed to accomplish in his years as minister.

Buchi's insincere promises are surpassed only by another talkative presidential candidate of the regime: Mr Errazuriz.

Volodia Teitelboim then added: In order to guarantee the victory of democracy, it is necessary to organize the united forces of all those who hope for liberty.

We hereby call for the creation of millions of commandos for democracy and broad committees across the country to display initiatives, encourage imagination, and form caravans of people who will give explanations from door to door and from person to person, implementing a fervent and overwhelming dynamic capable of changing Chile on 14 December 1989.

Our people have always played an outstanding role in the crucial crossroads of the 20th century. They are playing it now, fighting wholeheartedly, convinced that the victory of democracy will represent a significant step toward respecting human rights, an emphatic and righteous no to impunity, and a substantive yes to liberty for all political prisoners and to the dissolution of the CNI [National Intelligence Center].

The outstanding communist leader and intellectual said that these are days for generosity and spiritual grandeur. Seeking democracy, we are shaking hands with all those with whom we have had disagreements in the past. We want to emphasize this. Although we are motivated by different political concepts, this is a creative time for a common denominator, joint actions, and for everyone to lend a hand.

If the opposition marches united toward 14 December, it will achieve a overwhelming victory that will be registered in Chilean history as a golden date of extraordinary significance.

Such a victory will finally restore a right that has repeatedly been requested and violated: the right to rejoice and to trust in the future with the certainty that no one will slip unnoticed through the shadows of the night to kill a Chilean with impunity.

The people, added Volodia Teitelboim, are beginning to paint the walls with a slogan: The people win, the dictatorship is over. The dictatorship will end and the people will win.

If we win in 14 December and doubtlessly we will, and if we—always acting in unison—immediately spoil Pinochet's plans, we will [word indistinct] then the president of the president or the perpetual boss.

The top leader of Chilean Communists warned that the dangers and difficulties demand that we remain alert and work even harder. We must bury all attempts by the general and his faithfuls to stop or reverse Chile's progress toward new horizons.

Volodia Teitelboim pointed out that Patricio Aylwin, during a meeting at the opening ceremony for the Christian Left Party offices, expressed his desire to be able to implement a truly democratic government that will make all Chileans active again in democratic life. This purpose reflects the sentiments of a vast majority of the people who want to turn the bloody page of the dictatorship and put an end to political and social neglect and to the divisions between humans, between pariahs and privileged ones, and between first-class, second-class, or third-class people, where some enjoy every right while others are denied even the right to live.

In his speech over a partial radio network, the PCCh secretary general said: We dream about and strive for a Chile without missing people, without executed people, without burned youths, without political prisoners, without exiles—a fatherland of equals among equals.

Volodia Teitelboim later explained in his address to Chileans that the Communist Party has undertaken the task of conquering its de facto legality, fully realizing that de jure legality will only be attained when the country regains its freedom. We all know that outlawed parties exist in Chile, as well as banned candidates. It will be as difficult for a worker to gain a seat in congress as for a camel to go through the eye of a needle. It will not be possible to exactly measure the strength of our party in the next congressional elections because of the numerous restrictions, traps, and discriminations imposed by the dictatorship.

By promoting a deliriously slanderous campaign day in and day out, an attempt has been made to erase the Communist Party from the political map and to deny it its legitimate right to due representation in the next congress. This moves us to intensify our efforts directed at that considerable segment of the people who believe in us and aspire to social justice. This segment would like to see the reopening of broad avenues for free men of the future to walk on, as President Salvador Allende said in his last message. This segment wants to have its own spokesperson who can bravely defend its rights in congress.

We therefore ask that you cast your votes for the candidates for deputies and senators on the unity for democracy list which, together with the coalition of parties list, represents the opposition's general agreement. Despite the fact that we can count on votes throughout the country, the communist leader continued, we will only run candidates in 13 of the 80 electoral districts and 3 of the 9 regions, in view of the abnormality of the situation. These candidates are men and women who in these hard years have been on the front lines of the battle and represent with dignity those who have suffered and struggled in favor of the people, life, and freedom.

As a serious and responsible party in fulfilling its commitments, we will scrupulously respect our reciprocal pledge to support candidates of different parties and we will do so in a disciplined, enthusiastic, and rigorous manner. This is the first time in 16 years that a radio network has carried the word of the PCCh secretary general. On behalf of the party and our brave youth, we fervently call on party militants, friends, and sympathizers to maintain their determination to elect Patricio

Aylwin as president of Chile and to ensure an overwhelming majority for the opposition in congress.

We believe that workers, peasants, the middle class, shantytown dwellers, intellectuals, women, and youth want to put an end to the nights of terror and desire a country where all Chileans can live. They want a country for people who are in step with current times as we enter the third milenium, which we hope will be an age of freedom and democracy.

Countrymen, we must put an end to the dictatorship. We must make sure that the people will win. From now on we must be on our feet to struggle for a normal life for Chile. Working together with the opposition coalition, with people from the north to the south of the country, we must become participants in a new chapter in our history. On 14 December a new democracy will win, the country will be free, and human rights will be respected.

Cuban Ban on Soviet Publications Explained

PM0509154389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own Correspondent A. Moiseyev reply to readers' query under the rubric "Dialogue: The Reader Asks, Ponders, Advises:" "Why the Ban?"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] PRAVDA readers G. Limorenko from Lvov, V. Travkin from Riga, V. Solovyev from Moscow, and many others ask for an account of the reasons why the Cuban party leadership banned the distribution in that country of two Soviet publications—the newspaper MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI and the magazine SPUTNIK.

Havana—I would start by noting that under an agreement with Cuban institutions 36 Soviet periodicals are distributed on the Island of Freedom. Furthermore, a large part of them are in Spanish. At the newspaper stands you can buy PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, TRUD, NOVOYE VREMYA, SOVETSKIY SOYUZ, LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, and many others.

It must be said that in recent years the demand for them has grown. This is due to the interest in our country, in perestroyka, and in glasnost. My Cuban friends and acquaintances have on numerous occasions asked me help them obtain this or that publication. Around 2 years ago, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI reached a print run of 30,000 there but then, at the Cuban side's request, this figure was reduced by two-thirds. Now there is a total ban. Why?

Even before that, workers of the Cuban Communist Party [PCC] Central Committee with whom I had talked expressed concern at certain publications in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI and SPUTNIK and drew attention to the categorical nature of opinions there and the one-sided view of historical events. The greatest alarm and bewilderment were caused by materials which, in the Cuban comrades' opinion, "cast doubts on certain aspects of Lenin's legacy and extol bourgeois democracy and the American way of life." Of course attitudes to items in those publications may vary. But when reading them, Cubans told me, they get the impression that the 70 years of Soviet power in the USSR have been time wasted. They also say that such items may create doubt in the ideals of socialism and communism among those whose knowledge of history is inadequate.

On 4 August, GRANMA published an editorial expressing the PCC Central Committee's view on the ban on the distribution of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI and SPUTNIK. In these publications, the newspaper notes, all history is denied and chaos is introduced into the present. While sheltering behind the thesis that pluralism of opinions is a vital necessity they spread formulae which lead to anarchy... "We have made our mistakes," the newspaper noted, "and we are rectifying them. Publications such as these, however, do not correspond to our realities or interests and are not for us."

For some time, GRANMA writes, many figures and ordinary members of the party and working people in the country have complained to the PCC Central Committee about publications in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI and SPUTNIK. "These factors," the newspaper concludes, "left the party leadership no choice but to terminate the distribution of those Soviet publications in Cuba."

Presidium Appoints Dergausov as Suriname Envoy

LD0809035589 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 4 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has appointed Yuriy Dergausov Soviet ambassador to the Republic of Suriname.

Born in 1943 in the town of Bataisk, Rostov Region, Dergausov, a Russian, graduated in 1973 from the higher party school under the CPSU Central Committee (correspondents department) and in 1989 from the Diplomatic Academy of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

In 1979-1995 he was a secretary of the Young Communist League Central Committee and in 1985-1989 first secretary of the Novocherkassk City CPSU Committee, Rostov Region, and in 1987-1989 he studied at the Diplomatic Academy of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Dergausov has the diplomatic rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, second grade.

Political & Social

Yazov Admits Rodionov Head of Tbilisi Operation

LD0709192689 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] The Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov has admitted to have appointed General Rodionov in charge of an operation against participants in a rally in Tbilisi during the night of 8-9 April.

MOSCOW NEWS reports about an independent inquiry into the tragic events in Tbilisi by the Georgian journalist (Irakli Godziridze). Force was used to disperse the meeting and this resulted in casualties.

Although General Rodionov commanded the Transcaucasian Military District forces at the time, the Interior Ministry troops involved in the events were also under his command.

Minister Yazov told journalist (Godziridze) that he had announced the appointment of Rodionov in charge of the operation in a telephone conversation with him.

Shevardnadze Addresses Georgian Party Bureau

PM0809095089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Visit to the Georgian SSR"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 7 Sep—During his brief stay in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, familiarized himself with the state of affairs in the republic and met with representatives of labor collectives and scientific, cultural, and education workers.

In the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] there were thorough talks with its leaders and with groups of the public representing the Abkhaz and Georgian population of the autonomous republic. The causes of the interethnic conflict and ways of overcoming it on the basis of dialogue, tolerance, and the quest for mutual understanding were discussed.

It was noted that the normalization of the situation and the revival of the traditional norms of friendship and fraternity not only serve the interests of the Georgian and Abkhaz peoples as well as the entire population of the republic, but also promote the positive development of perestroyka processes.

E.A. Shevardnadze expressed the hope that common sense, prudence, a sober, considered approach to existing problems, and the readiness to listen to and understand each other will help to find a way out of the current tense situation.

In Tbilisi E.A. Shevardnadze took part in a session of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, which discussed the question of measures to further normalize and stabilize the sociopolitical and socioeconomic situation in the republic.

G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, submitted for the Bureau's examination a detailed analysis of the situation in the republic, and introduced plans for the republic party organization's work. All members and candidate members of the Bureau expressed their opinions on the ways and means of resolving the complex political, social, economic, and ideological tasks facing the republic.

In his speech E.A. Shevardnadze noted that in the opinion of M.S. Gorbachev and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo the republic's new leadership has, in a complex, crisis situation, succeeded in establishing broad, constructive dialogue with the public, including representatives of informal groups and associations, halting the negative trends that existed and turning them in the direction of consolidating the republic's healthy forces, and laying the foundations for the restoration of trust between the institutions of power and various strata of the population. The republic party organization has presented them with a realistic program of action capable of creating the prerequisites for strengthening sovereignty in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres.

Naturally, this is only the beginning of the road, which lies through a great many difficulties. Success can only be achieved along this road by continuing to unite all the most active, progressively oriented forces around the Georgian Communist Party and preserving a high degree of aggressiveness, initiative, and an innovative, original approach to the problems that arise.

In an atmosphere of rapidly accelerating politicization of society, it is extremely important to summarize, consolidate, and deepen the first gains of broad social and national dialogue and gather together the experience accumulated, whose significance is not confined to within the bounds of the republic. It is extremely valuable that today the republic's leaders are more than making up for the lack of communication with the people, including difficult partners, that arose in the Georgian SSR at the very beginning of perestroyka.

Obviously it is as relations of partnership that we should characterize the living, creative links between the republic's leaders and the public, links that are now developing in the course of the quest for the optimum ways out of the crisis situation.

The dialogue should be widened, it should include in its orbit a great many difficult questions that are tormenting society's thoughts. People do not know the whole truth about the state of affairs in the economy and the financial and monetary system, which are now destabilized not only by their inherent flaws and the natural disasters of recent months, but also by political upheavals. The truth about the economic crisis is not an end in itself. The objective is to give people a clear understanding that

certain excessively vigorous actions, even if they express a justified dissatisfaction, can objectively exacerbate an already difficult situation, since in present conditions they could generate irreversible destructive processes.

The republic's economic independence is a sphere for reason, not emotion. Its economic revival must be prepared through the intensive labor of many generations, labor based on a clear sense of priorities. In many spheres—education, participation in the all-union and worldwide scientific, cultural, and economic exchange, cadre training, the production of competitive output, the provision of high quality services. Without all this, the idea of economic autonomy as a necessary prerequisite for state political sovereignty is suicidal. Suicidal for the national idea itself, which cannot be realized solely through the striving for autonomy. Its foundations are a strong modern economy, a developed political culture, and a high ethical sense of responsibility to one's own people—and not only one's own.

Perestroyka generated democratization, and democratization called into being an unprecedented sociopolitical activeness on the part of the masses. A scum rises to the top of this wave, a scum that is sometimes so dense that it can cloud the eyes of those who are straining to see a bright new horizon. As a result the true contours of various figures that appear in the forefront of politics are blurred.

This danger is very visible on the threshold of the forthcoming elections in party organizations and to the Supreme Soviets of union and autonomous republics, and this danger should also be a subject of dialouge. In this context it is extremely important to correctly define and clearly represent to the public the republic party organization's election program. It should be solid, well thought out and substantiated, expressing the people's aspirations and meeting them. But at the same time, in talking with the people in full awareness of one's responsibility to them, one must not exploit striking but frivolous ideas calculated to acquire cheap capital quickly.

For instance, ecology—our common grief and trouble. Ecological movements have rejected certain major energy and transport projects as being unsafe for nature. I do not dispute that some of them failed to take into account the demands of nature conservation. But what have we received in exchange? What is the alternative? Where are the other programs? It is necessary to explain to people that without the development of the power industry and modern transport arteries, there will be no development—national or interethnic. Leaving aside the fact that a developed industrial infrastructure is the basis of a developed, modern standard of life and existence for the people, such things as severe cold winters and nights without heat and light exist in reality, and not even the most ardent rhetoric can do away with them.

It is necessary to give the people an economic prediction, to explain how things could be on our territory by the end of the 5-year plan or by the year 2000, given a general taboo on various national economic projects. Let it be clearly understood that the enthusiasm for negation can undermine the enthusiasm for creation, and that our descendants will not forgive us this. By introducing ecologically clean technologies, we will both preserve our nature and develop the economy.

All this is also a very important topic for public dialogue.

But all the same, I would say that the main theme is interethnic peace and concord. This is the most difficult, most complex question, I would call it the key question, for the republic party organization.

According to my observations, much seems to look peaceful on the outside, but on the inside everything is in turmoil, and the situation remains explosive. The disease has been neglected, its treatment requires a new diagnosis and new methods and means. It is extremely important correctly to interpret the nature of the phenomenon. To understand that the main asset of every people, every nation, is their unique values and identity, that no people can tolerate the loss of those things.

The ideas of self-determination and political and economic sovereignty put forward by the leadership of the party and country are clearly in keeping with this phenomenon. They regard the desire of every people for the fullest possible self-expression—not only in culture and the economy, but also in politics—as something entirely normal.

But what forms should this self-expression take, forms that are acceptable to its integrity and well-being? What stages must be passed through? What internal laws characterize it? There are many such questions, and not all of them have been answered. The party platform on the nationalities question, published on the threshold of the Central Committee plenum, explains much and defines the main avenues in the realization of the enormous potential inherent in the union federation. In the course of nationwide discussion this document is being elaborated, supplemented, enriched. And of course, prior to the CPSU Central Committee plenum the Politburo is listening sensitively to the opinion of every republic, every people, every citizen.

Here the voice of a republic that is winning space, step by step, for interethnic peace could be very authoritative. Along this path even the smallest elements of chauvinism and nationalism are intolerable, wherever they may originate.

Quite good experience in building healthy interethnic relations has been accumulated in the republic since way back. There was experience in resolving specific problems in this sphere. Then much was neglected and scattered. Today, in the new conditions, the Georgian party organization can offer promising forms of a model of healthy interethnic relations.

It is necessary to take from the past all that is best, the methods that have won a good reputation, and to adapt

them creatively to present-day conditions. For instance—experience in the study, shaping, and consideration of public opinion. It is gratifying that the Center for the Study of Public Opinion, set up some time ago at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, is still operating, and that people in the republic often turn to this institute. But now, in the conditions of glasnost, its sphere of activity should be widened. First and foremost in the direction of the study of movements and the content of information flows and their influence on public awareness.

E.A. Shevardnadze drew the attention of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau members to the problems of mutual relations with young people, work with cadres, and the strengthening of discipline and order.

On the same day he met with representatives of the republic's public, and addressed them. Prominent Georgian SSR scientists and masters of literature and art played an active part in discussing the role and place of the creative and scientific intelligentsia in deepening the processes of perestroyka, protecting its gains, and imbuing the republic's sovereignty with real content. The participants in the meeting raised a number of important problems concerning the concept of the national development of the Georgian SSR and the surmounting of conflicts in interethnic relations.

E.A. Shevardnadze also had a meeting with Colonel General V.A. Patrikeyev, the new commander of the Red Banner Transcaucasus Military District, and Lieutenant General A.N. Novikov, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Transcaucasus Military District. The meeting was attended by Army General N.I. Popov, commander in chief of the troops of the Southern Sector, and Lieutenant General A.I. Ovchinnikov, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Southern Sector.

Questions of restoring trust and mutual understanding and strengthening the traditional relations between the republic's working people and the district's servicemen, which were shaken during the April events in Tbilisi, were discussed.

E.A. Shevardnadze had a talk with the Red Banner Transcaucasus Military District command.

In the republic capital he visited a number of municipal services and trade enterprises and talked with Tbilisi's people. In the republic's Sagaredzhoyskiy Rayon E.A. Shevardnadze visited the Udabnoyskiy State Sheep Raising Farm, which was created for settlers from the mountain regions of Georgia who were victims of natural disasters.

Situation in Abkhaziya Remains 'Complex'

LD0709151289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] The situation in Abkhaziya remains complex. In the town of Tkvarcheli, Gudautskiy Rayon, and in part of the town of Gagra, strikes by office and factory workers of Abkhaz nationality continue. One of the issues in strike committees' demands is the establishment in the autonomous republic of a special form of administration directly subordinate to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The overall number of strikers today is about 1,500. There are no infringements of public order. The operational situation in the republic remains unchanged. Weapons continue to be confiscated from the public.

Situation 'Under Control'

LD0809134989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] The provisional press centre of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Abkhaziya reports:

The situation in the autonomous republic remains complex. In the town of Tkvarcheli, Gudautskiy Rayon, and part of the Gagra area, citizens of Abkhaz nationality are still on strike at a number of enterprises. Leaflets containing the demands put forward earlier by the strike committees are being distributed in Gagra. Pickets from among the ranks of the strikers are starting to appear in the town. They are halting buses and taxis along their routes. Internal affairs bodies have recorded instances of drivers being prevented by force from driving transport facilities, of vehicles being damaged, and even of drivers being beaten up. This indicates that those people who make up the strike committees are losing control of the situation.

In Gudautskiy Rayon, the collectives of 19 collective farms have joined the strikers. The number of people who are not working is being clarified. Sixty-six bus drivers are not working in the town of Sukhumi, but this is not affecting traffic on the municipal bus routes.

In other regions of Abkhaziya the situation is normal. During the night of 7 September 85 people were detained by troop details, together with the police, for violating rules of movement during conditions of the special situation. Eleven sporting guns were confiscated.

An investigation is being carried out by party, local soviet and law-and-order bodies among the strikers and the population of the autonomous republic.

The situation in the Abkhaz Soviet Socialist Republic is fully under control.

Azerbaijanis Declare 'Full Sovereignty'

NC0709155989 Istanbul GUNAYDIN in Turkish 4 Sep 89 p 9

[Excerpts] After its gigantic demonstration in Baku 2 days ago, the Popular Front of Azerbaijan yesterday declared "full sovereignty" for Azerbaijan on the grounds that the country remained as a Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. In an exclusive statement to GUNAYDIN, one of the leaders of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan, Itibar Mamedov, said: "If the Soviet central administration fails to respond to our people's demands within 1 week, then the Popular Front of Azerbaijan will reveal to the entire world next weekend its decision to break away from the Soviet Union." [passage omitted]

Mamedov asserted that the Front's demands did not conflict with the Soviet Union Constitution. He said:

"The 1922 treaty agreement, which established the Soviet Union and Article 81 of the present Constitution of the Soviet Union stipulate that the central administration protects the territorial sovereignty of the republics which are members of the Soviet Union. This condition is not being fulfilled against the demands put forward by the Armenian SSR in connection with the status of Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO]. It is not being fulfilled within the Kremlin's policy against these demands. Consequently, the Soviet central administration has indicated that it is unable to protect Azerbaijan SSR's territorial integrity. Article 78 of the Soviet Constitution allows the allied republics of the Soviet Union to break off under these circumstances in order to wage a struggle to defend their territorial integrity. The decisions by the Popular Front of Azerbaijan do not indicate a rebellion. They are the result of the process of using constitutional rights."

Asked whether the Front has foreign support in realizing its very critical decisions, Mamedov said:

"The Soviet troops sent to the NKAO region and Armenians have fired on Turkish Azerbaijani youths during the past 5 days. The central administration, which has not asked where the Armenians have received the U.S. and French arms in their possession, is trying to suppress our movement. The Turkish Azerbaijanis are waging a struggle not only against the Kremlin but also against the strong Armenian lobbies in the United States and France. In view of this, we do not have any foreign support. We are waging a struggle against the world in a national spirit. Neither the United States, nor Russia [as published], or Europe will be able to obstruct the struggle waged by the Azerbaijani Turks for their existence." [passage omitted]

Popular Front Leader on Objectives

NC0709161589 Istanbul GUNAYDIN in Turkish 3 Sep 89 p 9

["Exclusive" interview with Ebulfez Aliyev, leader of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan, in Baku by GUNAYDIN correspondent Ardan Zenturk—date not given]

[Text] [Zenturk] What is the objective of the establishment of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan?

[Aliyev] The Popular Front of Azerbaijan was established by a few people. However, it became an organization for the political movement of millions of Turks in a very short period of time. We have openly explained all our objectives since the founding of this organization. The objective behind the establishment of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan is to secure full sovereignty and independence for Azerbaijan with a view to establishing the Turkish Republic of Democratic Azerbaijan. The decision was not our's but our people's.

[Zenturk] What are the front's political and economic views?

[Aliyev] The idea to set up the Popular Front of Azerbaijan comes from the views of Kemal Ataturk, who is the father of all the Turks in the world. Both Ataturk and Lenin changed the course of history during the same period of time. The Turkish people of Azerbaijan have experienced and seen what Lenin has done during the past 70 years. Meanwhile, we have also followed Turkey's achievements. There is no need to debate the direction to be taken. We wish to follow the direction which will give us an opportunity to be Turks, Islam, and modern. This idea is symbolized by the national flag we have adopted for the Turkish Republic of Democratic Azerbaijan.

[Zenturk] This is the political aspect of the matter. What is your program in the economic domain?

[Aliyev] We have seen what economic models based on central planning and concepts which obstruct the people can do to a community. Go out into the streets of Baku and visit the stores and the shops. You will see nothing. The Popular Front of Azerbaijan supports the system of liberal economy. We are well aware of the importance of private initiatives in the economy and our objective is to change the economy in Azerbaijan in that direction.

[Zenturk] What about relations with Turkey?

[Aliyev] Turkey is the window of all the Turkish peoples in Central Asia opening onto the Western world. The investments the Turkish businessmen will make in our region will further strengthen cooperation. We believe that economic cooperation will form the basis of our relations with Turkey. Of course, this will also lead to a political rapprochement. However, we do not have a pan-Turkic approach. Each side must own its own homeland and territory. The nations must always have the right to determine their own future. We do not want much from Turkey in this difficult struggle. Turkey's moral support will be enough for us. The Turkish Nation of Azerbaijan is strong enough to resolve its problems by itself.

[Zenturk] What is your opinion about the Nagorno-Karabkah [NKAO] problem you have with Armenia?

[Aliyev] The NKAO problem is an artificial problem which has been created by the support that is given to the

Armenians by various circles and by Kremlin's provocations. Through this problem, various circles are trying to divert the realistic struggle of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan. As far as we are concerned, the question of Armenia is insignificant. We can deal with the problem easily if we are left alone. Azerbaijan is not the only target of Armenia. We follow the reports published in their press organs that the Armenians also demand land from Turkey. Their objective is to create Great Armenia. They are using the Russians [as published] and the Armenians in order to achieve their objective. They have very strong lobbies. We are faced with tactics similar to those employed against Turkey in the international public opinion domain. We have observed that the Armenians have been arming themselves very quickly during the past few months. We know where they who supplies their arms. In addition to Soviet-made arms, they are also using U.S. and French arms. Our youths are retaliating against them in an appropriate way.

[Zenturk] Can an armed clash on a larger scale be expected if the problem worsens?

[Aliyev] The Popular Front of Azerbaijan does not intend to engage in an armed clash with anyone. We are only defending ourselves at the present time. Our resistance is continuing through democratic ways. However, if the Armenians wish to clash, then we shall not refrain from doing so too. We shall use arms against arms. But this will be to the detriment of the Armenians.

[Zenturk] Do you have a message to Turkey and the Turkish people?

[Aliyev] We, the Turks of Azerbaijan, closely follow our brethren in Turkey and feel proud of their achievements in the economic domain in particular. One of the main objectives of our front is to replace the Cyrillic alphabet with the Latin alphabet. We have covered significant ground in that direction. The cultural ties between Azerbaijan and Turkey will be further strengthened when we achieve our objective. Please convey our deepest love and respect to our brethren in Turkey. May God help all of us.

Continued Coverage of Baku Strike, Dialogue

7 Sep Rally Reviews Strike Results

PM0809092589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Sep 89 p 1

[Own correspondent A. Mursaliyev report: "Baku, 7 September"]

[Text] Around half a milion people gathered last night in Baku's Lenin Square. The results of the first 3 days of the strike were summed up at the rally. The leaders of the People's Front, which does not have official status, condemned the picketing of transport and of a number of schools and kindergartens, and urged that production at the wine factory and sales of alcohol be suspended and control established at markets where prices have risen noticeably since the beginning of the strike. It was decided at the rally that the strike should continue. Those assembled demanded that the country's leaders visit the republic.

A railroad representative briefed those present on the consequences which a continuation of the strike on the railroads might entail. Right now petrochemical workers have been forced to suspend operations at two major production facilities for the primary processing of petroleum at the petrochemical complex because of a shortage of empty tank trucks. That means that road and air transport, heating plants, and power stations will grind to a halt...

Republic newspapers carry an interview with R. Dzhamilov, Azerbaijan minister of grain products, in which he says that unless transport workers resume "their work, smooth supplies to the national economy of bread and grain products will be disrupted." Water supplies to Baku and the Apsheron peninsula are threatened.

A threat to boycott the press, which is being accused of suppressing what is happening in Baku, was also made at the rally.

Republic newspapers have published an interview with A. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, which reads in part: "We are prepared to cooperate with all healthy forces which favor perestroyka, but we oppose pressure and diktat."

Dialogue Begins on Front Demands

LD0809081189 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] An alarming situation has developed at the industrial enterprises in Baku as a result of a strike. A Radio Moscow correspondent in the Azerbaijani capital reports there were walkouts at most of the enterprises of the machine building, electro- technical, petrochemical and consumer goods industries. The railway was also paralyzed. The economy in the republic is sustaining big losses because of the work stoppage; 20,000 train cars with different goods, including food, are at a standstill. Meanwhile, representatives of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan said a dialogue had begun with the leaders of the republic about the possibility of satisfying some of their demands. That includes strengthening the sovereignty and economic independence of the republic and also questions connected with the solving of the problem of Nagorno- Karabakh.

Strike End Planned for 8 Sep

LD0709154789 Hamburg DPA in German 1431 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—According to official sources, the situation in the Soviet republics of Moldavia and Azerbaijan is still tense and difficult. [passage omitted]

DPA has been informed in Baku that the strike called by the Azerbaijani Popular Front is to end on Friday (tomorrow). The strikers are demanding the reestablishment of Azerbaijani sovereignty over Nagorno-Karabakh, which is being administerd by Moscow, and the resignation of the republican leadership. According to the Popular Front, state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev or Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov should come to Azerbaijan for negotiations. [passage omitted]

NKAO Main Issue; Oil Strike Rumored

LD0809130889 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Reports are coming from Azerbaijan on the continued political strike. The situation in the capital, Baku, remains tense with many factories still on strike. The republic's leadership points out huge damages sustained since Monday [4 September] when the strike began.

We've telephoned our correspondent in Azerbaijan, Elhan Mamedev; our first question was if the strike proceeded peacefully or with violence.

[Mamedev, in Russian with superimposed English translation] In the first days of the strike there were some minor clashes when strikers attempted to stop transport. Now the People's Front has the shops, transport and other services under control but the overall situation is tense.

[Announcer] Next we asked if the strikers still demand the resignation of the republic's government.

[Mamedev, in Russian with superimposed English translation] That is not the main demand. The central point concerns the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh; all the other demands are incidental. The People's Front isn't trying to seize power. The republic has lost control over Nagorno-Karabakh and the local Azerbaijani population feels discriminated against and keeps protesting about it. And the direct rule committee appointed from Moscow is resettling Azerbaijanis from the region, explaining that by considerations of their safety. The provisional committee has failed to control the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh.

[Announcer] Our next question was: where is the way out? Mamedev sees no other way out but returning the region under Azerbaijan's control, but wouldn't it cause another confrontation? The Armenian population of the region is sure to object.

[Mamedev, in Russian with superimposed English translation] That is true; it's hard to avoid a confrontation but there are different kinds of confrontation. Before the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh was raised Azerbaijanis and Armenians lived peacefully next to each other. There might have been some injustice but no more than what's being done to Azerbaijanis now. A reconciliation is quite possible.

[Announcer] And our last question: it has been reported by news agencies that oil fields in Baku have gone on strike. It was reported with reference to the Azerbaijani Information Center, but then the report was denied. What is the actual fact? Elhan Mamedev replies that his colleagues tell him that it's true but they have no official confirmation, so we may treat it as an unsubstantiated allegation.

Update on Baku Enterprise Standstill

PM0809153989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Asim Dzhalilov: "Situation Remains Tense"]

[Text] Baku—The situation remains tense here. Enterprises in various industrial sectors—machine building, electrical engineering, chemical, petrochemical, and light industry—are not operating. The situation on the railroad is difficult. Because of a failure to supply freight cars for filling and loading, two major petrochemical complex production facilities involved in primary processing have been forced to stop work. Other facilities in the sector are in danger of having their operations disrupted.

In the past few days enterprises of the "Bakneftemash" Production Association have suffered a production shortfall equivalent to more than R1 million. Only enterprises providing the vital necessities are operating to any great effect.

At the same time, another unauthorized rally in Baku in the middle of the week decided to continue the strike. The basic demands are normalization of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, disbandment of the Special Administration Committee, restoration of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic's sovereign rights in the oblast, and the strengthening of the republic's independence in the political, legislative, economic, and other spheres.

Representatives of the Azerbaijan People's Front who addressed the rally reported on meetings with the republic's leadership during which these demands had been discussed.

In an interview published in the republic press Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary A. Vezirov talked about a readiness for dialogue and about the lengthy conversations with representatives of various informal organizations and, in particular, with those behind the creation of the People's Front:

"Today it should not be a question of confrontation between the views, approaches, and assessments of different strata of the population, but of a quest for ways of uniting them. We are prepared to cooperate with all healthy forces who advocate perestroyka, but are against ultimatums and against pressure and diktat."

The rally also announced the creation of Azerbaijan People's Front workers militias to stop breaches of public order and any hooliganism.

There was criticism of the media, including central press organs, which sometimes distort events in the republic. Readers were very upset by my report "Uneasy September," published in IZVESTIYA. Because of poor editing it contained a passage from which readers might have deduced that last Monday republic television workers deliberately stopped work. In fact, on that day, in accordance with the schedule laid down by the USSR Ministry of Communications, republic television was carrying out preventive maintenance work, from 0730 until 1700 hours.

Media Coverage Criticized

PM0709155189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Sep 89 First Edition p 3

[Report by PRAVDA special correspondents Z. Kadymbekov, A. Petrushov, and V. Somov under the rubric "Emergency Situation": "Baku Rally"]

[Text] Baku, 7 Sep—After the 3-day strike by the majority of Baku enterprises there was another rally in the central square named for V.I. Lenin, attended by hundreds of thousands of people.

The organizers of the rally—members of the Azerbaijan People's Front [APF], which does not have official public organization status—summed up the 3-day strike, which has affected the majority of enterprises in the machine building, electrical engineering, chemical, and petrochemical complexes and light industry and paralyzed the railroad.

The republic's economy is suffering great losses as a result of the stoppage. For example, because of the nondelivery of petroleum refining industry finished products the industry's enterprises are having to slow down their operation, there is no longer anywhere to store fuel and lubricants, and if installations come to a halt the situation will get even worse: In fact it would take at least 2-3 weeks to get them operating normally again. Offshore and onshore oil extraction could fall sharply because of the "glut." E. Abdullayev, chief of the Azerbaijan Railroad Administration, addressed the rally and urged the strikers to start work again, putting forward a convincing argument: Some 20,000 freight cars have accumulated on the tracks, containing a variety of national economic freight, including food.

APF members announced at the rally that a dialogue is under way with the republic's leadership regarding the possibility of meeting a number of their demands, which include strengthening the republic's sovereignty and economic independence, and others associated with the solution of the Karabakh problem. They again urged those present to observe law and order and to halt any hooligan activity, for which purpose APF workers' militias are being set up at all enterprises. There was much criticism of the country's and republic's media, which, in the rally participants' opinion, are ignoring and sometimes even distorting events in the republic.

Baku Party City Committee First Secretary M. Mamedov urged rally participants to continue to display good sense and restraint.

It was decided at the rally to continue the strike until the weekend.

Turkish Paper Condemns U.S. Support of Armenia

NC0709170789 Istanbul GUNAYDIN in Turkish 2 Sep 89 p 9

[Ardan Zenturk report: "Azerbaijanis Are in a State of Rebellion"]

[Excerpts] Baku (GUNAYDIN)—The Kremlin has begun to send military forces reinforced with heavy tank units to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] region as a result of the armed clashes between the Armenians, who demand that NKAO, which is an autonomous oblast affiliated with Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], be brought under Armenian SSR's juristiction, and the Azerbaijani Turks, who claim that they "do not have even an inch of territory to give away." [passage omitted]

The Armenians have a very strong lobby in Moscow. They have also been able to move the Soviet central press organs to support their policy. After rendering the Kremlin and Mikhail Gorbachev ineffective, the Armenians called for NKAO's transfer to Armenia, urged by the U.S. Senate and the Armenian lobby in the United States. The call created significant reaction in Azerbaijan SSR.

Elchin Ilyasov, USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy from Azerbaijan, explained the developments to GUNAYDIN as follows:

"The Armenians are observed to be arming themselves very quickly. The Soviet central administration has preferred to remain inactive toward this rearmament, which is solely against the Azerbaijani Turks. This has created significant reaction in Azerbaijan. Incoming reports from NKAO have revealed that the Armenians are in possession of arms they have acquired from the Soviet Army. Furthermore, they are in possession of U.S., French, and Israeli arms as well. We are unable to furnish you with documents which confirm these reports, because the records kept on the arms that have been seized are being concealed by the Soviet official."

On the other hand, Ziya Bunyadov, who is one of the ideologists of the Popular Front of Azerbaijan, which has been established to struggle for Azerbaijan's own sovereignty and prevent concessions from Azerbaijan's territory, informed GUNAYDIN that the arms in question

have been sent to the Armenians by the United States, France, and Israel after the tragic earthquake in Armenia.

He said: "Armenian groups in the United States and France in particular launched a wide-ranging campaign to help their kinsmen at the time of the earthquake. Half of the cargo that was carried by the aircraft which took off from the United States, France, Lebanon, and Israel was made up of foodstuffs or pharmaceutical drugs. The other half was made up of arms. These arms were brought into Armenia without control. They are now being used against us, the Turks. The Kremlin created the tension between the Armenians and Turks in accordance with its 'divide and rule' policy. However, it failed to realize that this tension can be exploited by countries like the United States and France. Armenia is now under the control of the Tashnak Party and not the Communist Party. Using the significant support they received from the United States and France and benefitting from the Kremlin's inconsistent policy, the Armenian nationalists have launched an onslaught against the existence of Turks in the region. The Popular Front of Azerbaijan is determined to resist against this onslaught, that is, with arms if necessary."

Kamran Nabi oglu Ragimov, chief editor of KOMMUNIST in Azerbaijan, has said that the idea of creating "Great Armenia" is behind the NKAO problem. Ragimov asserted the following:

"The Tashnak Armenian bands have cut off the roads leading to Nakhichevan, a region on Turkey's border. We are able to send food and other consumer goods to that region only by air. An Armenian, Artush Pasargayan, tried to blow up the railway tracks leading to Nakhichevan. He was killed in the blast. The incident proved how the Armenians are plotting against our existence in the region. The Turks of Azerbaijan need moral support from Turkey now. The Armenian newspapers publish articles every day claiming that they are suffocating and being squeezed between Turkey and Azerbaijan. Their objective is to wrest lands from all the Turkish republics in order to establish Great Armenia, which will stretch from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea. We are strong enough to prevent this." [passage omitted]

The Popular Front sources have disclosed that the demands on the NKAO problem, presented during the latest demonstrations in Baku—demonstrations observed only by GUNAYDIN among the international press—have been conveyed to the central government. They also revealed that unless these demands are met by 2 September, a general strike will be called in Azerbaijan on 4 September. [passage omitted]

In view of the Popular Front's latest decisions, the government in Azerbaijan has closed down the universities in the republic for 30 days in an effort to prevent university students from traveling to Baku. However, Azerbaijani youths continue to converge on the capital. Meanwhile, a number of youths are reported to have picked up arms and traveled directly to the NKAO region. In fact, the Turkish Azerbaijani militia organization, which has been set up in that region, has captured seven Armenians who attacked Azerbaijani civilians in Karachollu [as published] town. The organization "did not hand them over" to the Soviet officials... The Armenian militants are reported to be held by the Popular Front of Azerbaijan.

On the other hand, armed clashes are reported to be continuing between the Azerbaijanis and Armenians in the NKAO region.

Situation in NKAO Updated

NC0709161689 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Each new day that brings the country nearer to the CPSU Central Committee plenum devoted to the ethnic issue, and to the CPSU Supreme Soviet's ordinary session which will study the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], further exacerbates the situation in the autonomous oblast and, especially, in the areas neighboring Azerbaijan.

For this reason, auxiliary armed forces were recently sent to the NKAO. (?Patrols) on the roads and in various villages of the oblast have been increased.

The residents of the area were (?surprised) by the oblast's unfavorable television program of 1 September in which the so-called Shushi studio was [word indistinct].

The rhythm of work in Artsakh and neighboring areas is being regulated. All the enterprises, organizations, and institutions are operating. The oblast's civic life is becoming more markedly active (?in parallel) with the important (?developments) of our multinational public. Sessions of the committee on ethnic issues are taking place, during which the social, economic, and cultural development of the NKAO and matters concerning the improvement of the situation in the area are discussed, and Soviet people's deputies meet with their constituents.

During the (?ordinary) meeting in Stepanakert on Friday [1 September], the residents of the city were once again called on not to respond to any possible provocations, to defend calm and stability, and to display wisdom. The NKAO problem should be solved only in a calm and constructive atmosphere, and (?sentiments) can be [word indistinct].

Armenian Party Head Arutyunyan Queried on Meeting

NC0709202889 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 6 Sep 89

["A Time of Crisis and a Time of Hope: Answers by Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, to an ARMENPRES correspondent"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Yerevan, 6 September, ARMENPRES—[Unidentified correspondent] Comrade Arutyunyan, the

meeting between the members and candidate members of the Armenian and Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee Bureaus has just concluded in Moscow. Why did this meeting take place?

[Arutyunyan] In my recent message on Armenian television, I pointed out that that tension between Armenia and Azerbaijan has reached an extremely dangerous level. The two peoples have reached a confrontation with unforeseeable consequences, and the conflict may turn into an interethnic war.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee is seriously concerned over the developments, and it completely shares the anxiety of the republic's workers over the situation that has been created in Azerbaijan and over the situation faced by the compatriots in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. We supported the CPSU Central Committee proposal to hold a meeting in Moscow between the members and candidate members of the two republics' Communist Party Central Committee Bureaus to discuss good ways of finding a solution of the situation that has been created in the region, to exchange views on the reasons for the exacerbation of the interethnic conflict, and to seek ways to improve the relations between the two neighboring peoples.

As for the Moscow meeting, this was a useful meeting during which the members and candidate members of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau decisively stated their stands on all the problems that are affecting the people today. We pointed out very firmly that the improvement of the two republics' relations can be achieved only through mutual steps forward and mutual compliance.

The significance of this meeting was that it was the first time that a dialogue at such a level had taken place between the two sides. Of course there were serious disagreements, but the members and candidate members of the Communist Party Central Committee Bureaus of the two republics collectively agreed on the fact that, despite all the problems in interethnic relations in the region, there is no problem that cannot be solved through (?a dialogue) which takes the interests of both peoples into consideration. Of course the problems that have accumulated in the effort for reconciliation in the region are so great that a single meeting between the two sides cannot solve all the problems.

During the extensive exchanges of views, it was agreed that the two republics should first exert every effort through party soviets and public organizations to ensure that constructive talks may gradually be started at all levels.

[Correspondent] Many people are concerned about the angle from which the NKAO problem was discussed during that meeting.

[Arutyunyan] First of all, I would like to say the following: Our stand on the NKAO was decisively stated during the USSR people's deputies' session. That stand manifests the wish of our people, and we declared that we are not willing to deviate from it. At the same time, we will search for ways to bring about a dialogue aimed at interethnic reconciliation, and we will do everything we can so that an end may be put to to ethnic hostility and that normal relations may be established between the Armenians and Azerbaijanis. This was the gist of my speech on Armenian television on 29 August this year.

The participants in the meeting paid great attention to the NKAO problem. That issue, which is of great concern to our people, was the pivot of the speeches by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau members and candidate members. The political tension in Azerbaijan, the NKAO, and Armenia are interlinked with the public atmosphere. Thus it is necessary to approach the subject of regulating the situation from many aspects. It is difficult to improve the situation in one full swoop and only through local means. We discussed this in a principled way during the Moscow meeting. It is not a difficult task to (?present) the NKAO problem. Unfortunately this issue has existed for the Armenians for a long time. It has historical roots which have deeply affected ethnic consciousness. The decision to include the NKAO in the structure of Azerbaijan taken in the 1920's was interpreted by the Armenians as an ethnic injustice. As I have repeatedly said, the exacerbation of the current situation is a result of serious mistakes that were allowed in the historical, social, cultural, economic, and ethnic fields.

Two judicial principles have clashed in the search for a just solution to the problem: the right to national self-determination and the impossibility of altering the borders of a union republic without the latter's consent. But the right of national self-determination is the most important issue. This view, as pointed out in the CPSU stand, is a pivotal issue for the implementation of the socialist program.

Unfortunately, democratic principles are (?surfacing) with difficulty. Therefore, we should be logical and seek ways toward mutual compliance. During the meeting, we emphasized once that it is necessary to revive, without delay, the authorities of the council of the NKAO people's deputies as well as of the party obkom by making them subject to the central party and soviet bodies; in other words, to achieve the legal subjection of the oblast to the center.

But we agree that as long as innocent blood is being shed, as long as people are being killed, as they still are, as long as the wave of emigrants is not ending, as long as smoke is rising from the houses that have been set on fire, as long as stone-throwing continues on our roads, highways, and railways—and these factors do not unite the people, but distance them from each other—it is necessary to take immediate radical steps to defend the elementary rights of the civilized people.

[Correspondent] What ways did the participants in the meeting propose for regulating the situation in the region?

[Arutyunyan] First of all, we proposed that the two republics accept a declaration by the state government's high-ranking bodies guaranteeing the residents' security and condemning genocide, vandalism, and other crimes against human beings. It is very necessary to guarantee the security of the people in both republics in order to improve the situation in the region. The members of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau very seriously propounded the issue of the guaranteeing the security of the Armenians living in Azerbaijan.

An agreement was reached on one of the regrettable issues: the lifting of the blockade around the NKAO. The two sides expressed their readiness to assure the safety of rail and road transport in the two republics.

During the meeting, the two sides paid special attention to the problems of the refugees and to the fact that thousands of people are facing housing problems and lack the basic means of livelihood. All matters concerning this problem were fully discussed during the meeting. The participants believed that all the civic rights of the innocent victims should be restored. We pointed out that it is necessary to provide compensation for damages to personal property; we also stressed the problem of the refugees' employment. The most important issue is to solve the problems of the refugees and, first and foremost, to provide them with housing and employment. It is, after all, the time to solve their party and Communist Youth League issues.

We did not want to exchange accusations and reproaches there. There is no place for such (?details) in the sensitive atmosphere of interethnic relations.

But how can this be avoided when everything is like a burning match under a powder keg? I am referring to the stand adopted by the mass media.

We do not have to look far for examples. Let us recall the meeting of the intellectuals in Baku and their appeal to the Azerbaijani people. That appeal echoed loudly in Armenia. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau described that act as an irresponsible and politically harmful one.

During the Moscow meeting it was decided not to allow the publication of items in the republics' mass media that might be ethnically insulting and exacerbate the situation in the area. Among the other issues which were agreed on was the creation of mixed sessions near the borders of Azerbaijan and Armenia consisting of party, soviet, and legal bodies which will study all the issues in dispute and an effective solution of all conflicts.

It is also envisaged that an unofficial session should be held among people's deputies of the USSR in order to coordinate the activites of the republics' public organizations. I hope that a committee consisting of the two republics' scientists will start to work within the framework of the USSR Academy of Sciences and will embark on a clarification of confusing historical facts and situations.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau members unanimously stated the view that the representatives of the oblast should be included in all the studies concerning the problems of the NKAO.

[Correspondent] How do you assess the role of the leaders of the two republics in the situation?

[Arutyunyan] As the first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and as a son of my people, I feel responsible not only for solving the accumulated ethnic problems, but for improving the lives of each and every citizen. Our people have seen enough calamities. Bloodshed and violence are deadend roads. This is a fact that should be well understood by all those who are fruitlessly trying to achieve a solution to the Karabakh problem in undemocratic ways.

I think that in view of the tense situation in the region, resulting from the rail and road blockade of the NKAO, and the frequent violence on ethnic grounds which has led to a new wave of Armenian refugees, the leaders of the two republics should display a constructive stand and seek for wise ways leading to mutual compliance. No one will benefit from hostility. We want to build bridges over the (?abyss) of ethnic schism.

During the meeting, we stated our stand on all issues pertaining to interethnic relations. Of course it was very significant that N.N. Slyunkov and V. Cherbikov of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo also participated in the meeting. They approached all problems very impartially; they repeated that ways are being sought to untie the Karabakh knot and that the issue will be studied by the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

I also want to refer to another point, and that is that in the reconstruction of the disaster cities and villages, and in providing housing and employment for the refugees, we should always be on the side of our brothers and sisters from Artsakh. Our NKAO compatriots need our efforts today more than ever before.

Armenian Council of Ministers Discusses Refugees

NC0809110689 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] A discussion was held at the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers on the emigration of Armenians and Azerbaijanis in view of the meeting held at the CPSU Central Committee.

The discussion, which was chaired by Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, was attended by ministers, heads of organizations and establishments, and members of voluntary groups for the refugees from Azerbaijan.

Vladimir Movsisyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Committee on Refugee Affairs, submitted a report on the solution of the problems concering the creation of normal conditions for the new residents of the republic.

Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, delivered a speech at the discussion. He said that during the CPSU Central Committee meeting views were exchanged on the discussion at the USSR Council of Minister on this issue and on the agreement between the heads of the two republics whose major concern is to create the necessary conditions for the solution to accumulated problems and to ensure the security of each family and each person.

Earthquakes in Armenia; No Casualties Reported

LD0809093989 Moscow TASS in English 0920 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Yerevan September 8 TASS—Areas in Armenia that were devastated by last December's earthquake were shaken by tremors again at 3:46 Moscow time today, with the shocks in the epicentre—between the towns of Spitak and Kirovakan—reaching force six on the 12-point Soviet scale.

In Kirovakan, they registered force 5, in Stepanavan force 4.5, in Razdan force 4 and in Leninakan and Idzhevan force 3.5.

Another quake, measuring force 4 in the epicentre, followed in the same areas at 4:11.

Early reports indicated damage to some buildings and installations, but no casualties.

Turkmen Official on Drug Abuse, Crime

LD0709131189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0200 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] A briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists has taken place at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to inform them of the state of the struggle against drug addiction in several regions of our country.

Turkmenia is one of those that has a rich raw-material base. Since the beginning of this year, internal affairs bodies have completed the handling of 180 criminal charges leveled against persons whose criminal activities were linked with the illegal circulation of drugs: 294 persons have been brought to administrative account. As is known, the Mak-89 [Poppy-89] operation is now in progress, and our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov talks about some of the results of its first stage with Lieutenant Colonel (Kiyasim Redzhepovich Chichmamedov), Turkmenia's first deputy minister of internal affairs.

[Begin recording] [(Chichmomedov)] This year, we detected 120 illegal plantations of the opium poppy and jute. That is somewhat less than in previous years, but that does not mean that we have slackened our efforts to detect these crops. Our second stage will continue from September or October.

[Fedorov] How many registered drug addicts have you got in the republic?

[(Chichmomedov)] Just over 5,000. Of them, 3,700 have been diagnosed as addicts; in other words, they are people who are ill and in need of treatment.

[Fedorov] Have you used any new forms and methods in the current Mak-89 operation?

[(Chichmomedov)] Yes. This year, we've held working meetings together with the neighboring republics, since the carrying out of the operation in just one republic will not bring any success unless a similar operation is put into effect in, let's say, the neighboring Uzbek republic.

[Fedorov] But you have very large borders.

[(Chichmomedov)] Our border is very large, and, at the working meeting, we did, in fact, decide on the duration and timing, and on the manpower that would be deployed in carrying out this extensive operation. Through joint efforts, we detected sizeable plantations along the border between our republics.

[Fedorov] What instances are there? How many were detected?

[(Chichmomedov)] During a joint operation with the Uzbek Ministry of Internal Affairs in this area, seven plantations of opium poppy were detected in an area of some 7 hectares with a combined total of several million opium poppy bushes.

[Fedorov] Roughly what sort of profits have you deprived the drug dealers of?

[(Chichmomedov)] About 1 kilogram can be obtained from 1,000 opium poppy bushes. A kilogram of tiryek or opium now costs about R80,000 or R100,000.

[Fedorov] Can it be said that there are organized criminal groups in Turkmenia as regards producing and selling drugs?

[(Chichmomedov)] No. There are no such organized groups here. All the instances of detection in our area indicate that, by and large, they are produced by individuals [words indistinct]. There are instances of (?drugs) being grown on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. There are groups with interregional links. At the request of the MVDs [Ministries of Internal Affairs] of the Central Asian republics, the USSR MVD has set up, under its Criminal Investigation Administration, a special interregional department to fight the drugs trade. It coordinates our activities in the struggle against the pushers and traffickers. And in the struggle the central place is held by the (?gradual elimination) of the opium poppy.

[Fedorov] What's hindering the effective (?struggle) against the drugs trade today?

[(Chichmomedov)] As yet, we have no methods for detecting the actual narcotic substances apart from sniffer dogs. Nor are there any effective methods for treating addicts. These factors do, of course, hold up our active work. [end recording]

Supreme Soviet Panel Studies Moldavia Situation

PM0809150589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Svetlana Gamova report: "USSR Supreme Soviet Commission Working"]

[Text] Kishinev—The USSR Supreme Soviet commission which has come to Moldavia to study the sociopolitical situation in order to stabilize it is continuing its meetings with labor collectives and representatives of the public and of informal associations. The commission is also conducting a dialogue with the republic strike committee. It is analyzing the situation and seeking the causes that led to tension in the republic and ways to improve the situation.

At the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium the commission had talks with representatives of the mass media. The commission members conveyed to journalists the opinion heard in many labor collectives: The republic's newspapers, radio, and television express ambivalent opinions on the events taking place, frequently voice diametrically opposite views, and display a lack of objectivity.

The journalists participating in the meeting expressed their attitude toward the situation that has come about.

Different opinions were heard. Thus, the opinion was expressed that the Law on Language was not the primary cause of the strikes. The ground was prepared for them long ago, including by the informal associations' rallies held in Kishinev, at which, as is known, it was not only language slogans and appeals that were heard. At the same time certain journalists at the meeting also upheld this viewpoint: The situation is being complicated, they said, by the reluctance of the Russian-speaking population, primarily in the striking cities of Tiraspol, Bendery, and Rybnitsa, to bother to study Moldavian.

The opinion of members of the republic strike committee was also heard.

The meeting was attended by M. Snegur, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, and I. Gutsu, secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

The USSR Supreme Soviet commission is continuing its work.

Tiraspol Demands 'Just'

LD0709153289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] We shall start this regular Mayak bulletin with a narrative about the situation in Moldavia after the session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. For example, many work collectives of Kishinev adopted an understanding attitude and a feeling of responsibility for the normalization of the situation in Moldavia in response to the appeal by the commission of the USSR's Supreme Soviet.

A TASS correspondent was told at the city party committee that the strikes at the major industrial enterprises were suspended today and the Kishinev airport has been opened. However, this does not mean that the strikers have dropped their principal demands.

The situation is altogether difference in Tiraspol. Only the collectives which are called upon to provide the vital function of the city are working. Posters saying: No to the session, yes to a referendum and the status of state language for both the Moldavian and Russian languages can be seen everywhere. No, the people of Tiraspol are not on strike without grounds. In most cases, their demands are just. But all the same, by not responding to the appeal of the commission of the supreme body of power of the country, they hardly displayed prudence. Their opponents in the republic, who do not exist just by accident, have perceived this as an ultimatum.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet To Convene 20 Sep

LD0709111189 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0000 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Excerpt] The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium met today. It has been decided to convene the session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet on 20 September. This statement was made by Liudvikas Sabutis, secretary of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium having taken into consideration the opinion of the majority of people and the deputies that it is necessary to convene the session before the second USSR Supreme Soviet session which is to take place on 25 September.

Last week, when the CPSU Central Committee issued its statement about the situation in the Soviet Baltics, the date of the session was hurriedly moved from 5 September to 24 October. This caused indignation among the public and the USSR people's deputies who were supported by the Sajudis.

An appeal to the deputies of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet signed by 26 deputies of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet and USSR Peoples' Deputies was adopted at the sitting of the Sajudis Seimas council, which took place on Friday. It was proposed in the appeal that the session be convened even in the first half of September of the current year. Deputies were invited to voice their support as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

Lithuania Establishes Self-Managing Polish Rayon

LD0709153389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] On the topic of interethnic relations, we call your attention, comrades, to the fact that in the rayon center of Salcininkai, about 50 kilometers from Vilnius, a decision has been adopted to set up a Polish national territorial rayon of the same name with self-management within the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. This is what was decided by an extraordinary session of the rayon soviet of people's deputies. In the view of the deputies, the adoption of the decree on the use of the state language of the Lithuanian SSR does not provide legal guarantees for the development of other languages, including Polish and Russian. The situation which has devloped through history means that the main section of the local population are Poles. Therefore, they demand that the functioning of native languages alongside the state language, the guarantee of education, including higher education, in their native language, and the establishment of a legal mechanism for the defense of the rights of national minorities be ensured.

Demand for 'Autonomy'

PM0709152189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Correspondent Leonid Kapelyushnyy report: "In a Rayon of Lithuania"]

[Text] Vilnius—At the request of 43 out of 75 people's deputies a session of Shalchininkskiy Rayon Soviet examined the question of creating Shalchininkskiy Polish Autonomous Rayon with self-management within the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

This act, which still has to travel the thorny path of approval or rejection, fits in with the ideas of the CPSU platform on the nationalities question and could be considered an ordinary event if it were not for the stormy prehistory....

The Lithuanian SSR State Language Law and the normative acts on its application, which merit approval and respect, provoked a sharp rejection from the Polish minority in Lithuania. The question of the impossibility of Poles' obtaining higher education in their native tongue was probably most painful. The Polish diaspora, which lost its intelligentsia in the dramatic turns of history, today has just 32 people with higher education per 1,000 of the population—6 times fewer than the indigenous population. The civic rights of the Polish population, which does not speak Lithuanian, have also been jeopardized. This is an agricultural district, and the republic Agro-Industrial Committee, following the orders of government acts, sent down a directive to the rayon as to which leaders are obliged either to master the state language within 2 years or.... Almost the entire leadership of collective and state farms from livestock units to chairmen found itself on this extensive list. They were to switch to Lithuanian in official business. You can imagine how "simple" this is, if we were suddenly faced with mastering Dutch, let us say, within 2 years.

The mastering of the state language in localities where the absolute majority of the population is not Lithuanian, where the necessary material base for studying the language does not exist and there are no teachers, and where the teaching of Lithuanian in schools was for long years conducted in a lightweight manner, to put it mildly—all this was cause for alarm to the population of the Vilnius area. In this situation one of the apylinkas (that is, village soviet) declared itself a Polish autonomous entity at a meeting. Others supported it.

For almost a year the Polish population sent the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee letters signed by thousands of people and voicing concerns, fears, and requests. The deputies who addressed the rayon soviet session particularly emphasized this circumstance—the demand for autonomy was a form of protection for their national interests that they have felt compelled to take.

V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and S. Gedraytis, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, who participated in the session's work, tried to persuade the deputies to change their mind and said that such a step is unconstitutional and that it will contribute to destabilizing the already complex situation, and words such as the great divide, and the violation of ethnic peace were heard. There were counterarguments too: When the Lithuanian majority fights for its own national interests, it does not particularly reckon with established practice and the Constitution. Why is the Constitution, which is everywhere being called obsolete in spirit, suddenly so unshakable....

A group of USSR people's deputies participated in the work of the rayon soviet session.

Lithuania's Astrauskas Argues Against Polish Rayon

LD0709224389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 7 September in the "Vremya" newscast carries a 3-minute video report by correspondents A. Paulyus and S. Chekalin from Lithuania on the decision by the Salcininkai Rayon Soviet to declare its area a self-governing polish national territorial rayon within the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

After a short summary of this development the video report shows Vitautas Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, addressing the Salcininkai Rayon Soviet session in an attempt to dissuade the deputies from adopting the decision. He says: "I will tell you directly that I believe personally that it will be a mistake. It will be a mistake and it will arouse other forces, so to speak. It will not benefit your people either; your people will not benefit from it. This matter

must be approached very sensibly and not in the spirit of volatile emotions one might say."

Correspondent chekalin then interviews L.F. Yankelevich, chairman of the rayon executive committee, who complains: "I have not heard any indication either from representatives of the official authorities or from the leaders of Sajudis [Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring] that this has been received with understanding. I have even been told that if we do not cancel this decision ourselves the republic bodies will cancel it for us. Surely the majority cannot solve such an issue as the nationalities issue and instruct the minority as to what they may or may not do?"

Yakelevich goes on to make another point: "I want it to be understood that it is not any desire to disassociate ourselves from anybody or to cut ourselves off. Not at all! We are continually confirming the view, which all our people also express: Only within the Lithuanian SSR."

The correspondent concludes with general remarks of his own to the effect that greater national self-awareness should not develop into chauvinism.

Sajudis Chairman Addresses Extraordinary Session

LD0709211489 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0000 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Address by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Sajudis Seimas Council, at the extraordinary seventh session of the Sajudis Seimas in Vilnius on 5 September—recorded]

[Excerpts] In the sphere of legislation, the process of confirmation of new legislation acts should be continued. The regularity and consistency here must not be lost. Therefore, the issue of postponing the session of the Supreme Soviet, or not postponing it, a long-term postponement or a short period postponement for reasons of work was a principled problem of great importance. This would have meant either an open halting or the continuation of the restructuring process.

The continuation of the restructuring process has won; I think that political wisdom has won over apprehension. Let us regard it as the common achievement of our society.

There is no doubt that the date of the session of the Supreme Soviet is linked with the whole political context, with the issues we have been discussing here, as well as with a much wider context. I think the most important issue in this political context is the date of elections to the Supreme Soviet. We know, and I believe we will agree on that unanimously, that there should be no dragging on this issue. Of course, it is evident that if the session had been postponed then in its turn the dates of elections, the adoption of the law on elections would have been automatically postponed. [passage omitted]

We have to offer resistence against attempts to introduce a split in Sajudis. This is what Moscow wants, or would like; the Lithuanian Liberty League is also very eager to do that, or at least its unofficial leader is in his speeches. We should see who these efforts render service to.

The time will come when Sajudis will have to decide whether to remain in the coalition of political pluralistic forces which are aspiring for reforms and Lithuania's independence, or make a conclusion that Sajudis has carried out its mission.

However, this moment so far has not yet arrived. Sajudis is indispensible today.

Lithuanian Officials Assess Developments

LD0709133889 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 7 Sep 89

[from the "Update" program]

[Text] We begin with the situation in Lithuania, one of the three Baltic republics. Opinions on the issue, an issue widely discussed in the media, differ greatly. The republic's popular movement, Sajudis, like the popular fronts in Estonia and Latvia, is pressing for more autonomy for the republic. Some of its spokesmen even speak of Lithuania's complete independence as the ultimate goal. Others oppose such plans, pointing to the necessity to remain in the union but as a sovereign and independent republic. Rallies and demonstrations are taking place in Lithuania with tens of thousands of people endlessly debating these and other issues. So, what's the situation like in the republic at the moment, and do the processes under way in Lithuania receive proper coverage in the Soviet media? We put these questions over the telephone to Algimantas Zukas, an official of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee:

[Begin Zukas recording, in Russian fading into English translation] Moscow newspapers such as PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA try to analyze the situation in the republic impartially, telling their readers about the events and people's sentiments. But this cannot be said about television in my opinion. The daily Moscow television news program, Vremya, upset many Lithuanians when one of its correspondents reported that the popular movement Sajudis had refused him permission to enter its headquarters. The correspondent blamed Sajudis for fanning nationalist tendencies, but what happened in reality was that the television correspondent came to its headquarters without any preliminary notification. And I want to underline that every journalist must be very accurate and not hasty in his conclusions, especially when reporting about such sensitive issues. The overall political situation in the republic is of a calm, reasonable dialogue between all forces. [end recording]

That was Algimantas Zukas. The Lithuanian Communist Party leader Algirdas Brazauskas was quoted by REUTERS as not ruling out the use of force in Lithuania. He said, and I quote, I cannot categorically say that

this is impossible in the Baltic republics. So, the next question to Algimantas Zukas is whether he fears another tragedy like the one in Tbilisi last April. Troops were on that occasion used in the Georgian capital to disperse a peaceful demonstration; 16 people were killed.

[Begin Zukas recording, in Russian fading into English translation] I was in Tbilisi that tragic night in April. I took part in one of the television programs done by a Lithuanian journalist. I said there that Vilnius and Tbilisi were separated by a 2-hour time zone and put the rhetorical question: Who could guarantee that nothing similar could occur in our republic despite this difference? I have still not found an answer to that question. [end recording]

The view of Algimantas Zukas, a Lithuanian Communist Party official. And we put the same question, whether there is a threat of sanctions against the Baltic republics in order to keep the situation under control, to (Oleg Fomin), a specialist on interethnic relations.

[Begin (Fomin) recording, in Russian fading into English translation] Judging by what the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Lithuania and Latvia and Estonia have declared, they are poised for a constructive dialogue. They have voiced the intention to remain in the Soviet Communist Party and in the USSR as sovereign republics, only with expanded rights and more explicitly defined sovereignty. This is what the Communist Party of the Soviet Union proposed recently in its draft platform on the policy of nationalities today. The keynote of this document is the stronger the republics the stronger the union. Much will depend on how the Baltic republics' Communist Parties control the situation since the popular fronts in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia have been taking initiatives to express the popular masses' interests, pushing the Communist Parties to the background. A serious political struggle is in store for influencing the masses, for prestige, for internationalism; to prevail over nationalism and separatism. [sentence as heard] As for sanctions, to my mind the time for them has gone for ever. When the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee meets soon it will discuss ethnic relations most throughly and will assess them in principle. [end recording]

Decline in Pre-Army Training in Lithuania Noted

PM0609152589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Sep 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by special correspondent Captain 2d Rank A. Pilipchuk under the rubric "Interethnic Relations: We Follow Events" and the general heading "To Adopt Considered Decisions": "Lithuania: To Serve Whom and Where"]

[Text] Vilnius—During the first days of September Vilnius is bathed in the light of car headlights even in the daytime, reminding schoolchildren of the dangers that lie in wait for them on the city thoroughfares. But a different surprise has greeted the pupils: By order of the republic minister of public education lessons in initial military training have been terminated in Lithuania's secondary schools. As of 31 August the complement of military training officers was abolished, the initial military training department ceased to exist at the republic Ministry of Public Education, and the training of military training officers at the Lithuanian Physical Culture Institute (Kaunas) has essentially been axed....

It is not easy to understand what is happening without, in particular, analyzing the state of initial military training in the Soviet Baltic republics in general. In August of this year Colonel General F. Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, sent the chairmen of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian Councils of Ministers a letter pointing to the trend toward reduced effectiveness in the preparation of youths for military service. Here are some facts and figures from that document: Defense-sports camps have not in practice been set up in a single rayon in the three republics, and only just over half the secondary educational institutions have a full complement of resources and materials for initial military training and physical education. The qualitative makeup of military training officers is not improving—10 percent of them have not seen service in the Army, and many military training officers are over 60 years old.

Without a doubt, military training needs improving. The letter proposed, by way of an experiment, that the Baltic Military District staff help to restructure the organization of initial military training; including the creation of interschool training centers for initial military training and physical education, to which it was proposed shifting the center of gravity of all youth training for Army service from the schools when the base was ready. According to Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Andreyev, district staff officer, at first the Lithuanian Ministry of Public Education seemed to treat the idea of the experiment with understanding and advanced interesting proposals in parallel. But everything was ended by the minister's hasty order even before the interschool centers had been set up.

Much is now being said in Lithuania about the sovereign republic's right independently to resolve internal questions. But in this case the interests of the whole state's defense capability are affected—which, under the USSR Constitution, falls within the competence of the Union. A revision of views on service in the USSR Armed Forces is characteristic of sociopolitical life in Lithuania today. For example, a commission for military service affairs was set up under the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet this spring. According to reports in republic newspapers, at the end of August the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium approved a draft resolution on military service by citizens of the Lithuanian SSR, which was prepared by the commission and will be submitted to a session of the republic Supreme Soviet. Newspapers also speak about the substance of some points in the draft resolution. For example, about the demand to grant draftees from Lithuania the right to

serve in units stationed on the territories of the republic and of the Baltic and Belorussian Military Districts.

The question arises: What is of greater concern to the commission's members—improving the procedure for preparing youths for service in the USSR Armed Forces and for carrying out service or creating special conditions for draftees from Lithuania?

Lithuanian Deputy Seeks Soviet Army Withdrawal

LD0809092789 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Army General Aleksey Lizichev, head of the Chief Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy, is on a visit to Lithuania. Today he met the Central Committee secretaries and Bureau members of the Lithuanian communist Party as well as a group of the Soviet Union's MPs for Lithuania.

Comrade Gudaytis, people's deputy of the Soviet Union and member of the Seimas Council of the Lithuanian Reform Movement Sajudis, commenting upon this meeting, said that it had been a great disappointment to the Lithuanian deputies. The question which is most burning to all of us, namely whether Lithuania's young men will be able to do their military service on Lithuania's territory already beginning with this autumn, was answered in the negative.

The deputies raised the question of establishing national military units on Lithuania's territory, and this question also received a negative answer in fact. The arguments presented did not convince the deputies, Romas Gudaytis said.

Arousing Lithuania's concern is also the question of the army's neutrality under the conditions of a tense political situation. There is already a lot of evidence that the Army is against the democratic processes in Lithuania. The implication is clear and this is a threat to use military force [words indistinct].

A number of other questions were raised, but General Lizichev, representing the leadership of the military forces, did not give a clear-cut answer to any of them. The problem no doubt has one solution, that young men should do their military service on Lithuania's territory and that a national Lithuanian unit be established within the Soviet Armed Forces. Certainly our objective is demilitarization of the Baltic and Lithuania, while the ultimate and most sacred goal is the withdrawal of armed forces from the territory of the Baltic states, said Romas Gudaytis, the Soviet Union's MP for Lithuania and member of the Sajudis Seimas Council.

Local Army Chiefs Discuss Problems in Lithuania

PM0709145189 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 10 Aug 89 p 3

[Interview with V.N. Uskhopchik, Vilnius Garrison chief, and V.I. Kutrovskiy, Vilnius Garrison deputy chief for political affairs, under the "Topical Interview" rubric: "...The Things That Concern the Army"; date, place of interview not specified; first paragraph is newspaper introduction]

[Text] The debate about the Army, its problems and concerns, and its functions is definitely developing in newspapers and magazines. And often the life of the Armed Forces and the changes taking place in them are treated in an unobjective, prejudiced, and superficial way. This is currently a cause of concern to the Army, and particularly the servicemen of the Vilnius Garrison. What difficulties are they encountering and what kind of concern is required? Garrison Chief Vladimir Nikitovich Uskhopchik and his deputy for political affairs Vladimir Ivanovich Kutrovskiy discussed this in a conversation with our correspondent N. Smirnova.

[Smirnova] The argument that the Army is unnecessary and service life lacks prestige and the demand that troops be withdrawn from Lithuanian territory are being heard increasingly frequently at rallies staged by various informal organizations and movements. A simple explanation for this is given: "The Red Army occupied Lithuania"; "The Army is unnecessary because nobody intends to attack Lithuania." At one of the sittings during the USSR Supreme Soviet Session one of the deputies read out a letter from a group of Shyaulyay servicemen: "We are overtly referred to as occupationists... Russians in the Baltic region do not feel that they are Russians." This is primarily a reference to the granting of state language status to the language of the indigenous nationality—in this instance Lithuanian. An explanation is also given for this: It is no secret to anyone that military service is peripatetic. And there are as many languages as there are republics. So all of them need to be studied. Maybe that's how it should be. You can hardly describe yourself as cultured or educated without knowing a language....

V. Uskhopchik: In different districts and different climatic conditions we perform our military duty in Lithuania, Estonia, Russia, or someplace else. I don't think there's any officer anywhere who would agree that he is an occupationist. The very specifics of the Army, a multinational army—servicemen of 54 nationalities serve in our garrison—preclude a non-benign attitude on ethnic grounds, I believe. People who describe us as occupationists on the basis of what nationality we belong to are distorting history, in my view. I don't believe that the entire people think that way. Although labels of that kind are hurtful to most of our officers: Attacks of this kind are insulting and are not in keeping with the concept of being cultured.

V. Kutrovskiy: The law on the use of the state language in the republic makes an exception for the USSR Armed Forces. But, in addition to the officers and noncommissioned officers, there are also their families. Difficulties arise in finding jobs for wives in their specialist fields, and there is a question mark over children continuing their education since frequent moves mean they have been unable to master the Lithuanian language. Also the language barrier means that it is not always possible to find a job for a serviceman after he is discharged into the reserve.

V. Uskhopchik: But I do believe that in every republic the language of the indigenous nationality must be the state language. Admittedly there is a need, in my view, to organize a large network of intensive language tuition courses for minimum tuition fees. This is where we need to start, and then the question of introducing the state language would not be so acute. The fact that the language question has been closely linked with the residence question is another matter. I personally am a supporter of the territorial principle of army organization. This is a rational principle. You have people born in the Far East who want to serve there but can't, while by contrast people from the center are suffering in the Far East and also want to be closer to home. Why not give people the opportunity? What savings there would also be for the Army (after all, it is the Army that pays for repostings) and the family.

[Smirnova] So many young people's desire to serve in their own regions is also closely linked to the residence question. But is the Vilnius Garrison, for example, ready to satisfy a request from people wishing to serve close to home?

V. Kutrovskiy: In our unit alone we have more than 400 servicemen of Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian nationality, among them officers, noncommissioned officers, and privates. Not counting draftees from Kaliningrad oblast and Belorussia. We have never objected to this. It is another matter that not every draftee—unlike his parents—wants to serve here: I have often heard soldiers express a wish to get further away from home to serve, to test their own mettle and live without parental supervision. Unfortunately the wishes of children and parents do not always coincide.

V. Uskhopchik: I have practically answered this question already. We have come to the conclusion that if a serviceman hails from this locality, this will be a productive place for him to serve. He has roots, the support of his fellow countrymen, and a knowledge of the language, customs, traditions, and culture.

[Smirnova] What, in your view, is the explanation for the negative attitude displayed toward the Army and the decline in the Armed Forces' prestige, and what needs to be done to ensure that the Army again becomes "the flower of the nation"? Is the military itself to blame, or is it all a matter of objective factors?

V. Kutrovskiy: The Armed Forces are not isolated from society or the people. They are part of it. And if society has been sick and is as yet making only a slow return to health, it is not difficult to guess why the Armed Forces' return to health is a slow process. Among last year's draftees 15 percent have only 1 parent, 2 percent are orphans, and 50 percent had committed moral or physical violence against a younger person before being drafted. So in my view the nonregulation relations for which we are blamed do not originate in the Army. Although we undoubtedly bear some of the blame here. We must not attribute our economic difficulties and problems of various kinds to excessive consumption of the people's money by the Army or consider that the Army is a drain on society: The defense industry is alleged to be a "military millstone." This claim stems from ignorance of the real situation. For example, in 1988 alone the defense industry manufactured for the population 10 million television sets, 95 percent of all Soviet-produced refrigerators, more than 80 percent of our washing machines, and almost 70 percent of our vacuum cleaners. Has anybody worked out how much of the people's money the Army is saving today? Some 83 modern state farms, 80 specialized dairy units, and 9,000 subsidiary farms operate today within the agrarian sector of the USSR Ministry of Defense.

V. Uskhopchik: It is a great pity that semiprofessional, tendentious, and often naive views receive broad publicity on television and radio and in newspapers and magazines. Coverage of the life of the Armed Forces should be truthful and objective. Is it not after items of that kind that we are described as a "drain"—although, as is obvious from the data cited by Vladimir Ivanovich, we are no such thing; is it not in the wake of that kind of item that "activists" appear carrying banners saying things like "The Soviet Army is an occupation army" and "Soldiers and officers, don't serve in Russia's occupation army"?

[Smirnova] We've come back to the "occupation" question...

V. Uskhopchik: Naturally, because the many questions and problems which have now arisen are closely intertwined in a single knot. And what I would like to say here is: Of course it is unpleasant to hear yourself described as an occupationist merely because you have chosen the vocation of defender of the fatherland. We weren't born with shoulder boards; we're the same folk as all Soviet people. At times of severe trials we have always extended a helping hand to our people. You only have to recall the Chernobyl accident or the earthquake in Armenia. And here too, on Lithuanian soil, various enterprises and organizations have turned to us time and again for assistance for various reasons. Have we ever failed to help anyone? So why does nobody ever have a good word to say about that?

V. Kutrovskiy: We plan our work, but disasters are no respecters of plans and we often postpone combat training, sleep, or lunch and rush to help. In 1989 alone

our sappers have gone out 14 times to defuse objects in danger of exploding. There have been 198 objects, ranging from large-caliber bombs to—most recently—antiquated grenades found in Lenin Square. Six sappers worked on the Prenay Bridge on the night of New Year's Eve and for 3 days afterward, and near Pabrad a purification installation worker died and so our soldiers were called in to help and worked in the most difficult of conditions.... This is has become routine for us.

[Smirnova] You help the people but the Army probably needs the people's concern, does it not? What kind of requests have you put to the republic's inhabitants; do you have that kind of opportunity?

V. Uskhopchik: The training of young people for Army service is of a very low standard—no standard at all, really. If someone wants to serve inside the republic, OK, we'll be accommodating about finding out what the problem is. But kids shouldn't come to us thinking that Army service is some kind of severe punishment. We have guys coming to us to whom the concept of defending the fatherland with honor is nonexistent. Their very mood is depressed until they go away, get used to things, and learn to smile. I think this has come about solely because of the fears and horrors of every possible kind that local television and radio and the local press ascribe to service in the forces. Our doors are always open to journalists, and even "Sajudis" representatives have come to see us—we are ready to receive anyone interested in servicemen's life and daily routine; we merely ask that you don't talk rubbish but write the truth, unexpected though it may be. Otherwise you get fairytales like "soldiers are fed on bones." The daily food ration for a soldier prescribes 175 grams of meat, 100 grams of fish, 550 grams of potatoes, and 820 grams of vegetables. The quality of food preparation and compliance with the prescribed rations is constantly monitored by canteen monitors, unit monitors, unit commanders, rear service officials, and medical officials. The only thing I would consider essential would be to expand the range of products, maybe by increasing the proportion of dairy products: They are lacking in the soldier's diet to a greater extent than meat.

V. Kutrovskiy: It seems to me that republic press coverage of the Army should be fuller and more truthful. There is a great deal for which we need criticizing, but the criticism should be truthful. Let them come and see how we live and what concerns us. The problem of housing for officers and noncommissioned officers is an acute one—in our garrison 646 servicemen's families have no living accommodations. And this means that they live anyplace they can find, in private apartments or places totally unsuited for human habitation. And what about the wages of an officer in our Army? A platoon commander—a lieutenant—receives R230 per month. Just try paying for a private apartment in Vilnius out of that kind of "income"! There is no prescribed workday for a serviceman. This means it lasts 12-15 hours, not 6-8.

[Smirnova] At rallies you also hear talk about withdrawing troops from the republic's territory...

V. Kutrovskiy: It is for the Soviet people as a whole and the Lithuanian people in particular to decide their fate. Who belongs to what setup is for organs of people's power to decide. In one of his speeches M.S. Gorbachev stated very correctly that there is a need for a new federation among the peoples, with new forms. But the living flesh must not be harmed.

[Smirnova] What is your attitude to Army intervention in events like what happened in Georgia? And what, in your view, must be done to ensure that there is no recurrence of that kind of thing?

V. Kutrovskiy: The Army's function is to defend the socialist fatherland and help people. The Army must not act against its people. The Supreme Soviet adopted what I would regard as a correct decision incorporating the following words: The Army has plenty to do—it has combat and political training; it has the defense of borders against external enemies. The Army must not contemplate doing harm to its people. The Army must not be beyond criticism, of course, but to create an image of the soldier as an enemy of perestroyka who will charge in brandishing a sapper shovel at the first opportunity is also going too far. After all, in Georgia the decision to bring in the troops was made collectively, by the republic government. This does not absolve the Army of the blame for everything that happened, but I do believe that there is a need for objectivity.

V. Uskhopchik: Attacks on the Army that contradict reality should not happen. Soldiers and officers are offspring of the people, and there is no way we can be separated because the Army is also the people. We realize this. And what the people decide is how it will be be. In general there must be common sense; everyone must think before he acts rather than the other way around, which is what many people are still doing.

Vagris Sees No Existence for Latvia Outside USSR

PM0709181589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Irina Litvinova dispatch: "A Sober View Is Needed"]

[Text] Riga—The Latvian press carries pronouncements made by Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, during a television program in the series "The Leadership's Opinion," which attracted much interest among the population of the republic. The broadcast was in the form of a question-and-answer session which was relayed live. The attitude to the CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the Baltic republics, the possibility of a new, more independent status for the Latvian Communist Party that has been submitted for discussion, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum that has been held, and the program of action that it elaborated, and other topical questions of political life in

the republic were touched upon. We cite excerpts from the interview with Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

"...I would like to say that our program of action is based on the observance of the principle of the right of nations to self-determination.

"Now about the new status of the Latvian Communist Party to match the qualitatively new and sovereign state. Unquestionably, the Latvian Communist Party will remain within the CPSU. We discussed at the plenum what its status should be. However, neither in the commission nor at the plenum could we agree on a single specific option. Nor did we seek to put forward just one option, although there were proposals to this effect. We wanted to leave scope for further discussions. And so two options for the proposed future status of the party are presented for discussion. This issue is to be discussed by all communists prior to the next, 25th, congress of the Latvian Communist Party, which will be held in approximately one year."

"...Do you consider it possible to operate in conditions where the Latvian Communist Party remains within the CPSU and its activities between congresses are directed by the CPSU Central Committee? Will the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee be able to implement its programs and adopted decisions?"—ran one of the questions.

"That is precisely the point: If we retain our present status, nothing will change. Therefore the task has been set on achieving a new status. We must obtain a qualitatively new level and only then will we be able without question to successfully carry out our tasks."

"...Do you think it possible for the republic to break away from the USSR?"—television viewers ask, mainly in connection with the Latvian People's Front Duma board's 31 May appeal.

"Lately questions of this kind are being asked not only in connection with the appeal of 31 May. The Movement for the National Independence of Latvia, for instance, has declared this as its aim. So this question is by no means new. 'Politics is the art of the possible,' someone said once. I believe that anyone who wants to be a real politician, rather than a political demagogue, must take a realistic view of the situation and keep his feet firmly on the ground. I see no possibility either now or in the future for Latvia to lead a normal existence outside the Soviet Union. It is true that many brilliant slogans, attractive in their glossiness, have been put forward. However, they are completely baseless: there are no sensible programs. There is a multitude of general propositions, but nothing is said about what we will do, how we will live, and who will foot the bill. Acting on the principle: 'Let us break away, and then see what happens next' is not a serious approach. Would it not be better to take a sober look and give some thought to how we are managing right now, within the Soviet Union, to implement specific, practical tasks. After all, certain results have already been achieved, for instance the fact that as of 1 January 1990 we will begin to live and work in conditions of the republic's economic independence."

"...Will there not be an economic blockade of our republic?"

"No, I do not think so. Why should there be? In connection with the aforementioned statement? Or because the Baltic republics are switching to economic independence? I see no grounds for fears that anyone may impose a blockade against us or the other republics."

Latvian Official on Deputies' Congress Elections

LD0709232189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] In the CPSU Central Committee statement on the situation in the Baltic republics that was published 2 weeks ago, I noted for myself the place saying that the leaders of these republics didn't manage to do everything in order to retain the process within the normal course of perestroyka changes. They didn't manage to stop negative tendencies, master the situation and defend their principled positions. That's why, in approaching the local Soviet elections, their leaders are searching now for methods and forms of active influence on the course of these events that are important in a political sense. Less than a month for example, is left before the start of the work of the 13th Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session that has got to consider and accept the draft law of the republic on election of people's deputies of the Latvian SSR. We call your attention to an interview with Anatoliy Valeryanovich Gorbunov, chairman of the Presidium of the Latvian Supreme Soviet. He gave it to our correspondent:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] In the republic there are two main platforms: the direct and multistage ones. Well, what is your opinion about that?

[Gorbunov] Yes, it is true, some people believe that it should be two-staged, that is, at first the holding of elections to a congress of people deputies, and then out of this number of the people's deputies the elections to the Supreme Soviet; and other people think that there should be direct elections; that is, the Supreme Soviet of the republic should be elected as a result of direct elections. As for me personally, judging by the post received by the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the majority in the republic still is inclined to observance of the main democratic principle of elections, that is, that the elections will be held on the basis of implementation of universal direct suffrage and of course, that the elections will be equal. In this connection, even now it is clear that this principle presupposes a renunciation of elections in public organizations, and it also presupposes a rejection of elections to a congress of people's deputies.

[Correspondent] Well, at the recent plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee a recommendation was

stated in the program adopted by the plenum for the Supreme Soviet of the republic to work out a draft law that would guarantee the rights of the national minorities in Latvia. Are the dates for working out such a draft law set? Probably it would be also passed over for general and nationwide discussion?

[Gorbunov] Yes, we have provisionally called this draft law "the nationalities of the Latvian SSR." One must say that we already have the basis for adopting such a law. We have had a forum of peoples of Latvia. National-cultural societies are active among us: They even joined into associations and already have worked out their own draft and have submitted it to the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Correspondent] This year there has been the start to and even the opening for the first time of national schools, has there not?

[Gorbunov] Yes, Saturday and Sunday schools will be in operation. Of course, the debate that is being conducted on interethnic matters in our republic is after all also experience and a basis for the adoption of such a law. We proceed from the position that it should be not merely a declaration on the rights of national minorities in our republic and that it should not only proclaim these rights, but that there should also be a mechanism for the implementation of these rights. for this reason it is impossible to employ haste in drafting, and even more so in adopting such a law. We would like to do this in the course of this year. We will submit it for nationwide discussion so that the inhabitants of various nationalities in our republic may clearly express their views and their suggestions and so that we may in our turn competently, professionally, and taking account of these suggestions, compile a generalization.

[Correspondent] Thank you. [end recording]

Estonian Leaders, Strike Committees Sign Protocol

LD0709175189 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Tallinn September 7 ETA-TASS—Estonian leaders and representatives of strike committees today signed a protocol recording their positions at another round of negotiations which took place here today.

The republican leadership's delegation was headed by president Arnold Rujtel.

The protocol announces also that the presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet will publish by October 1 the agenda of the latter's forthcoming session and proposals regarding the USSR Supreme Soviet's decree of August 16, 1989.

Estonian Minorities Meet With Deputies

PM0709141189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 20 Aug 89 p 2

[ETA report: "We Must Live Together"]

[Text] The meeting between the group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies which is in Tallinn and the republic's leadership, on one side, and representatives of the national cultural societies belonging to the Association of Estonian National Cultural Societies on the other was concluded late Friday evening [18 August] at the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

For 2 ½ hours the representatives of the national minorities talked about their historical place in the economy, culture, and life of Estonia in general. They touched on many problems, so that the visitors from the center were given a true picture of the position of the national minorities in the republic.

The national minorities have the possibility of fully developing their national culture only in conditions of genuine Estonian sovereignty—such was the opinion of all the speakers.

After an exchange of views and answers to numerous questions, G. Tarazevich, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Commission on Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations, said that he was satisfied with the meeting. Resolving misunderstandings which have arisen on nationality grounds is a complex matter, and the problems must be studied carefully and rational solutions found. In the present situation it is necessary to reassess many old concepts. People who find themselves in an alien environment ought not to lose their national distinctiveness, but at the same time it is necessary to understand and participate in the cultural life of the people among whom you live, the leader of the group of USSR people's deputies stressed. He thanked all the participants in the meeting and said that the work they are carrying out is very important and that the principle of cultural autonomy fully meets the views of the Communist Party on the nationalities question.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Registers New Association

LD0709212489 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Excerpts] today's session of the [Estonian] Supreme Soviet Presidium also registered the Association of the Peoples of Estonia. The registering of this association is one of the steps toward protecting the interests of minorities in the home republic. [passage omitted]

A consultative committee was established at the Presidium of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet. Representatives of public political organizations and movements which have been registered, as well of other, officially recognized public organizations,

belong to it on an equal footing on the principle of equal representation. The consultative committee will be led by Arnold Rykytel. [chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet] Representatives of unregistered groups and movements may take part in the work of the committee as observers.

Correspondent Reports on Situation in Estonia

LD0709210189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Sep 89

[I. Kudrin—indentified by caption—report from Estonia; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Tallinn is quiet and calm. People often take offense at the Moscow press and central television. We are accused of allegedly not being objective in our coverage of the situation in the republic. There are some people here who don't like it when people say that the situation is uneasy and troubled in Estonia. To tell the truth, it is hard to understand that sentiment. For even at the last plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, and at the recent republican meeting of secretaries of grass roots party organizations, the situation was described for all to hear as acute, complex, and even explosive.

Unfortunately, in this situation by no means have all Communists, including some belonging to the leadership, and particularly the representatives of the intelligentsia, shown themselves to be able to rise to the situation. Quite often on questions of principle they adopt a woolly, ambiguous and sometimes even openly antiparty position.

On the other hand, the numerous political forces, usually those acting on behalf of the indigenous population, stand their ground firmly and stubbornly. Born in the times of perestroyka, they, just like the weather vanes on top of Tallinn's towers, quickly changed their line, and today openly called for national dissension, insulted the non-Estonian part of the population, and put foward slogans to separate Estonia from the Soviet Union.

They say that the National Independence Party has very few adherents. Since the group does not recognize the existing state system, it is itself illegal. But somehow or other it conducts its propaganda without hiding. The party has its own showcase in a busy part of Tallinn. Under glass you will find slogans insulting Soviet power and the Soviet Army.

Such groups search for and find support among certain circles of the West, where they are given advice to break the Soviet country up into farmsteads [rastashchit sovetskuyu stranu po khutoram]. What is worrying is both the growth of such organizations and the number of papers and leaflets being put out by them.

Their very names sound worrying and frightening: front, movement, unit, column. This is why a part of the population of Estonia feels uneasy at heart today, worried in their souls.

But instead of soothing people's minds, some political forces in Estonia and some of the mass media are sowing confusion; recalling old insults, adopting some polemical, fiery documents. In particular, a certain political club, the Tallinnskiy Referendum, has published a statement—incidentally addressed inter alia to the Vremya program. This statement calls the latest document of the CPSU Central Committee on the situation in the republics of the Soviet Baltic undisguised pressure and interference, and describes it as a tool to divide the people, and a means to whip up enmity. Another, quite opposite reaction to the CPSU Central Committee statement was seen from the Inter Movement, designed to defend the interests of the Russian-speaking workers.

A routine meeting of supporters of the inter movement. A document is being adopted in support of perestroyka, condemning nationalist extremism. Actually, it seems to me that extreme points of view and irreconciliability, refusal to listen to another opinion, are sometimes equally features of the leaders of the Popular Front and the heads of the Inter Movement.

So this is how Estonia is today, apparently divided into two opposing communities. But this is by no means a precipice between the two peoples, as the Western press asserts. Passions must not be stirred up, nor must people accuse each other of all the mortal sins, but they must urgently look for and find a common language. It is not easy to come to an agreement with each other. It is much harder than to conquer the famous Patkuli steps in Tallinn, but there is simply no other way out. Each inhabitent of Tallinn will then feel it easier in their hearts and in the souls, whatever language they may speak.

Tarazevich Cited on Need for Dialogue in Estonia

PM0709143589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 22 Aug 89 p 1

[ESTONIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY (ETA) report: "Ways Will Be Found"]

[Text] As is well known, a group of USSR people's deputies led by G. Tarazevich, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations, has been in our republic. The group had many meetings and talks and took part in a dialogue between the leadership of the republic and representatives of the strike committee.

Before leaving Tallinn the leader of the group, G. Tarazevich, gave an interview to ETA correspondent F. Kaazik. He said:

"The dialogue has not finished, some differences of opinion and some separation of positions remain. I have in mind the specific viewpoints of the labor collectives,

the strike committee, and the authorities. We have arranged to continue the dialogue and compare opinions further, in order to find a way out of the complex crisis situation that has arisen along the path of a reasonable, detailed analysis of the situation. I believe that such a position on both sides will of course promote the normalization of the situation.

"We also met with leaders of the Estonian People's Front. There was a lengthy conversation during which we discussed the situation prevailing in the republic and questions connected with law making and the further development of democracy, and we spoke about closer contacts between various strata of the population, nations, and nationalities. We spoke about setting up closer contacts and ties between various social formations. There are enough of them in the republic, and that is why a substantial contribution to normalizing the situation in the republic will be made not just by continuing the dialogue between the strikers and the government commission but also by developing dialogue between the social formations.

"I am an optimist. What I have seen in Estonia is, of course, alarming, but the fact that some points of contact could be found, the fact that dialogue has been initiated and that people have started to understand one another, and the fact that we are learning democratic principles of life and trying to take different opinions into account in our activity is, in my opinion, a very good thing. It can only promote the search for the correct ways of developing society. I am convinced that these ways will be found here too, in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

"I want to wish the Estonian people and all the inhabitants of Estonia success and mutual understanding on the paths of perestroyka, on the paths of the consolidation of all social forces in the name of progress for our society."

Differing Forces Observed in Estonia

LD0209214889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Sep 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by Igor Kudrin—identified from screen caption]

[Text] Practically all political forces and all political blocs of the republic, even if they hold directly opposite views on other matters, agree that the current situation in Estonia is rather complex and tense. Recent strikes are regarded by all as a culmination of this exacerbated situation. Local newspapers write a great deal about the acuteness and complexity of the situation. People on the street talk about it. At a recent plenum of the Estonian Communist Party, which ended yesterday, this situation was even described as explosive. Generally the republic has proved to be a crossroads of restructuring in all of the USSR. This is what the report said. So how can one relieve this tense situation? How can one dampen political passions and national passions? Where should one generally seek a way out of the situation that has arisen.

[Kudrin plays a video report on a meeting of primary party organization secretaries, public opinions and offers the following commentary to a video of meeting in progress and someone speaking on the rostrum] Replies to all these questions were sought today by Estonian communists. In Tallinn, a republican meeting of secretaries of primary party organizations was held; in effect, an internal party discussion began on the leading role of the Estonian Communist Party in the process of restructuring in the republic. Of course, at issue was the place of communists during this critical time. It is precisely they who are now called upon to convince people of the need for agreement and consolidation. What is the point of hiding! Some party members—even leaders—prefer to speak in terms of implications and with ambiguity, in such a way that one cannot even determine their positions.

This is particularly required when it is necessary to rebuff extremely right-wing nationalist elements. These forces are still feeble and disorganized. They have few supporters. But they are as persistent as these lads on the town hall square. I have asked them to describe their platform. It is primitive to the extreme: they do not recognize the existing legal political system. They affiliate themselves with the Greens. Officially they are called the Estonian Democratic Movement - 88. Now they are collecting signatures, and the demand they have issued is this: Let us convene a referendum for the separation of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic from the USSR. I was told that those behind them are either the National Independence Party or the Christian Union. It is curious that any person who walks here is allowed to voice his view, even a foreign tourist. [video continues showing the town hall square with people wandering about]

In my presence a young Finnish man put his signature to paper and peacefully continued his walk. What does he care about the fate of an alien people, the fate of strangers? And in the vicinity of an arch, a cunning office is hidden which a foreigner cannot even approach. In fact, neither can Tallinn's many residents. Here, citizens of the old Estonian republic and their descendents are registering. Only they, not strangers, will be allowed to decide the fate of Estonia. One can almost always meet foreign correspondents in the squares: [video shows man with microphone and reporters equipment in the square] The events in the Soviet Baltic republics are drawing them to this region constantly. They are obviously waiting for a sensation. They are waiting for the events that proceed from an explosive situation.

The town hall square is beautiful on work days and days off, in sunshine and in bad weather. Residents themselves come here. They come here for walks which sometimes turn into prolonged skirmishes and heated debates. What are they arguing about? About language problems. Here one can clearly hear a lack of confidence of the Russian speaking people's life. They are arguing about the strikes, about the social tension in the city, about the war, and other well known facts. Suddenly

somebody brings a piece of news that in some little town a monument is being erected to Estonians who collaborated with German Nazis. But the most disgusting and hurtful thing of all for both the Estonians and Russians is that they publicly discuss which nationality is better, more honest, and harder working. These are the graphic consequences of the actions of certain groupings, and of ill-conceived and even sometimes instigatory articles in the press. Recently, among journalists visiting Tallinn, the following idiom has emerged: Looking at the spire with a picture of Old Thomas they write that he feels dizzy from all this restructuring here. But the impression I have is that the city's old custodian is calling on people to exercise their common sense, responsibility, and sensibility.

ARGUMENTY I FAKTY Editor on Role of Press

PM0709082589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with V.A. Starkov, chief editor of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, by correspondent R. Armeyev under the rubric "Point of View": "To Persuade by Arguments and Facts"—date and place of interview not specified]

[Excerpts] Over a 10-year period, the print run of the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY has increased from 10,000 to 22,107,011 copies. Judging by the preliminary results of this year's subscription campaign, the figure will increase by a few more million. No other publication here or abroad has a larger print run today. Equally, the productivity of journalistic labor in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY is totally unsurpassed: This newspaper, which yields an annual net profit of R25 million, is produced by only 16 writers.

The ARGUMENTY I FAKTY phenomenon—this was the topic of an IZVESTIYA correspondent's conversation with V.A. Starkov, chief editor of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. [passage omitted]

[Armeyev] Censorship and the press—an acute question in the present period of glasnost...

[Starkov] We are being helped by our modular makeup. For example, if an item is withdrawn from the current issue, we replace it by something else of equal size. Remove one "box" and replace it by another...

The N.S. Khrushchev memoirs, which we were the first to start printing, were being regularly submitted for approval for almost a year. All that time they were being withheld from our issues. Afterwards, something seems to have clicked up there, the circuit was completed, as it were, and we were printing.

[Armeyev] Is it true that risks have to be run at times?

[Starkov] The eyes are afraid, but the hands carry on—this is true. But let me say this to anyone wishing to follow our path: Nothing is ever served on a platter, and people must not think that we are marching from one victory to another. Even material like the interview with N.I. Ryzhkov—with a high degree of frankness and openness unprecedented in conversations with a prime minister—was a complex matter....

[Armeyev] It would be interesting to know how your relations with Staraya Ploshchad are developing?... For the benefit of non-Muscovites, let me remind them that that is the location of the party Central Committee....

[Starkov] We have now started talking openly about these relations too: The newspapers periodically publish reports on meetings between mass media workers and Central Committee leaders. Direct intervention by the Ideological Department in editorial office work is steadily declining, but... It would be nice if it would intervene in the prevailing useless practice whereby identical news items and speeches are reprinted by thousands of local and central newspapers. Surely this is obsolete? [passage omitted]

[Armeyev] Would you risk forecasting the future? Relying, of course, on your huge mailbag...

[Starkov] Almost one-half of our readers still speak up in favor of...Stalin. Any old flower may bloom in such soil. Let us be vigilant. Let us not be complacent. Let us not slacken. The main work still lies ahead. And the press must take a second wind. Essentially, today we need a new press.

Donbass Miners Warn of 'Explosive' Situation

PM0709184189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Reprint of P. Milko report from Donetsk SOTSIALISTICHESKIY DONBASS (date not specified), published under "Press Focus" rubric: "Regional Union Conference"]

[Text] "The participants in the latest conference of the Donbass regional union of strike (work stoppage) committees discussed and ratified the union's charter. Then information was heard from A.P. Fusin, USSR first deputy minister of the coal industry, about progress in fulfilling the agreement between the striking miners and the government commission. The diffuse 10-minute report did not satisfy the conference participants. They adopted an appeal to the Soviet people, the USSR people's deputies, the Soviet Government, and the CPSU Central Committee. The Donbass miners' agreement with the government is not being fulfilled, and an explosive situation is therefore taking shape again in the region, the appeal says. This course of events plays into the hands of those forces which are striving to provoke the miners into renewed strikes."

Hazardous Materials Incident Noted

18290271h Moscow GUDOK in Russian 27 Aug 89 p 2

[GUDOK correspondent report from Saratov: "Breakdown Situation: Vigilance Saved the Day"]

[Text]Tank car No 013444, containing phosphoric acid, arrived in Saratov from Anisovka as part of freight train No 3619. The station at which it had been filled was Chaykuruk of the Alma-Ata Railroad; its destination was Tsentropolit on the Belorussian Railroad. As the rolling stock stood idle in the yard before the classification yard of the Saratov-3 station, where it awaited classification and re-formation, a leak in the lower part of the tank car's cauldron was noticed. Experienced car examiner Mariya Ilinichna Kuzenyatkina noticed it first. Train receivers V. Kurchenkova, N. Voronova, and L. Osipova hurried to her. They immediately reported what had happened to station switching dispatcher V. Aleksandrov, and he informed the proper authorities.

There was no possibility of slowing down, or all the more so, of continuing the dangerous tank car's run: Action had to be taken immediately. Having analyzed the situation, the hub decided to pump the acid out the tank car at the "Nitron" association adjacent to the Kokurino station. Chemical enterprises have the necessary equipment resources and specialists for this. The cause of the accident could be determined later, after the tank car had been cleared of the chemical product.

It seems that on the Alma-Ata line, they will carefully analyze the cause which generated the break-down situation on the banks of the Volga. The guilty will be punished, and the appropriate measures taken in order that such a situation not be allowed in future.

Sociologist Urges Lawsuit Against Stalin

LD0609171289 Moscow World Service in English 0310 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The leading Soviet sociologist Dr Bestuzhev-Lada has called on the Procurator-General of the USSR to bring a lawsuit against Josef Stalin. The latter is charged with premeditated murder, persecution of innocent people, and also genocide. [passage omitted] The sociologist's request was published by the newspaper MOSCOW NEWS. [passage omitted] Our reporter asked Dr Bestuzhev-Lada if his publication on the pages of MOSCOW NEWS can be regarded as a formal statement of claim against Stalin.

[Begin Recording] [Bestuzhev-Lada in Russian fading to superimposed English translation] By all means. If this is not enough I can back up the newspaper publication by any statement on my own. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] It seems you decided to institute court proceedings against Stalin not for personal reasons alone. Is that right?

[Bestuzhev-Lada] I'd like to say that the lawsuit should be brought not against Stalin alone. Stalin is dead, and it would be ridiculous to start a legal action against a dead person, though the criminal code has a special article that allows to do this. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Are you a member of the party?

[Bestuzhev-Lada] Yes I am.

[Reporter] So what we deal with is the situation when a rank and file communist takes a legal action against the former general secretary of the party. Do you have the approval of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party for this?

[Bestuzhev-Lada] I think I need no such approval. First of all in my case I regard Stalin not as the general secretary of the party, but as an ordinary citizen of the USSR who committed actions of criminal nature. Secondly to ask the approval of the Central Committee means to delegate the responsibility on it. I think this would be cowardice on my part. I coordinated my step only with my conscience, and with the jurists.

[Reporter] What kind of verdict do you expect the court to pass on Stalin?

[Bestuzhev-Lada] [Passage omitted] I repeat what matters is the judicial verification of the crimes committed by Stalin. It's not the fate of Stalin's grave and his monument at the Red Square that matters so much—though its being there is an offense to the memory of millions of Stalin's victims—as the need to disassociate in the most resolute way from the empire of the barracks socialism established by Stalin. [Passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] I will inform you about the reply of the procurator-general of the USSR to the request of Dr Bestuzhev-Lada to bring a lawsuit against Josef Stalin. [no date given for reply]

People's Deputies Commission Evaluates 1939 Pact

LD0709234189 Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian 23 Aug 89 p3

[Statement by members of the commission of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies on the political and legal evaluation of the 1939 German-Soviet nonaggression pact]

[Text] In the opinion of the commission members the prospect of creating a law-governed state which has taken shape in our country, demands that the political past of the country is depicted in a way that is true to life. All members of the commission consider that only the full revelation of the historical truth may serve to achieve genuine respect and mutual trust between the peoples and will enable the consolidation of our unwavering support for the new political thinking, toward the creation of the new European home.

Taking documents and scientific data as a basis, and having listened to experts' opinions, the members of the commission reached the following conclusions:

1. The nonaggression pact concluded on 23 August 1939 between Germany and the Soviet Union possessed an addendum—an additional secret protocol. Even if the original protocol has not been found in either Soviet or foreign archives, the reliability of the copies which have preserved must be recognized as being proven (the copies will be published in the mass media).

Obligations resulting from the pact came into force immediately from the moment of signing, even the pact underwent ratification. In the course of the ratification, the secret protocol was not presented at the USSR Supreme Soviet on 31 August 1939, nor was it mentioned directly or indirectly in the speech of V.M. Molotov, chairman of the USSR Council of People's Commissars, people's commissar for foreign affairs.

2. Members of the commission find that the secret protocol constitutes in both the manner of its composition and content a withdrawal from Leninist principles in Soviet foreign policy and that the division of German and Soviet spheres of interest envisaged in it is from the juridical point of view in conflict with the sovereignty and independence of a whole string of third-party states.

The members of the commission state that the Soviet Union's relations at that time with Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia were regulated with an integral system of agreements. These relations were founded upon the 1920 peace treaties and upon nonaggression pacts concluded between 1926 and 1933, according to which the participants pledged mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and inviolability under any circumstances.

3. The members of the commission state that Stalin and Molotov held the talks, connected with the secret protocol, with fascist Germany, secretly and without the knowledge of the Soviet people, the party, or the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet. For this reason the concluding of it [the secret protocol] did not in any case express the will of the Soviet people. The latter bear no responsibility for the actions of the Stalinist leadership.

An abrupt turnabout from an irreconcilable struggle against fascism to cooperation with Nazi Germany disorientated the masses and had a demoralizing effect upon antiaggression and antimilitary forces.

4. Taking into account the great political importance of the present issue, members of the commission recommend the following to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies:
a) To affirm with a special act the annulment—beginning with the German attack on the Soviet Union—of the 23 August 1939 pact, the friendship and border treaty on 28 September the same year, as well as the other 1939-1941 Soviet-German agreements, and to declare all secret protocols as being juridically without foundation and invalid from the moment they were signed.
b) To condemn and regard as incompatible with Leninist foreign policy the violations by the pre-war Soviet leadership of those legal obligations which the Soviet Union had taken upon itself in respect of third-party states, and [to regard] the use of ultimatums and strong-arm politics as being the use of methods alien to socialism in foreign policy.

5. Considering the importance of the events of 1939-1941, the members of the commission will seek further, comprehensive research into them. The commission will continue its work.

[Signed] Deputy chairmen of the commission: Yuriy Afanasyev and Edgar Savisaar;
Members of the commission: Ludmila Arutyunyan, Vasiliy Bykov, Igor Grazin, Ivars Kezbers, Vytautas Landsbergis, Marju Lauristin, Endel Lippmaa, Justinas Marcinkievicius, Kazimieras Motieka, Nikolay Neiland, Zita Slicyte, Mavrik Vulfson.

Communists' Deeds Reflect Party's Stature

PM3108130589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Your Stance: The Party's Authority Is Maintained by Communists' Deeds"]

[Text] Irakliy Ivanovich Dzamiashvili, electrician from Rustavi City, writes to the editorial office. You might say he is reflecting on the times, on the party, and on himself. The times are complex, difficult, crucial. The party is in a difficult position too: Indeed, they say it is behind with the perestroyka of its own life and work. "Now what do I do to help it? What is my contribution to the common party cause? What is my stance on perestroyka?"

You can sense the communist's concern and anxiety in these matters, and it is significant that they are directed more toward himself. It would appear that this worker has no grounds for concern about his own activities. The official performance rating attached to the letter says that he is a competent specialist, he carries out all jobs conscientiously, and he is active in public affairs and as a teacher of young people. Still, he is worried. Why?

At a time when we are thinking very hard about the party's place and vanguard role in society, about increasing its authority, we cannot get by without increasing every communist's personal responsibity for his own work and the common task. This question was addressed at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which paid a great deal of attention to relations between the party and the soviets. It was in essence the main theme of the recent plenums of the Moscow CPSU City Committee [gorkom] and Leningrad CPSU Oblast Committee [obkom], which discussed party organizations' tasks in present-day conditions, and one of the central

issues at the conference of first secretaries of union republic Communist Party Central Committees, kray committees, [kraykoms] and obkoms at the CPSU Central Committee. It was noted quite rightly at the conference that nonparty comrades judge the party not only in terms of the decisions and actions of central and local party organs, but also in terms of the activity of individual communists, and, above all, their work comrades. The logic is irrefutable: In your activities you must above all show what kind of communist you are and by your actions persuade people to follow you.

Of course, in the conditions of developing democracy and glasnost the power of the word also increases. We saw that when we witnessed the tumultuous and heated debates at the Congress of People's Deputies. And how many debates, albeit not on that scale, are going on all over the country at the moment! About our past and present, about ways of moving forward into the future, about mistakes and ways of rectifying them. That is, about the destiny of the homeland, about the destiny of socialism. Can a communist stand aloof from these furious debates?

Life shows, however, that by no means all those who carry party cards in their pockets are trying to get into the thick of the topical debates. Many prefer to remain silent, bide their time, and avoid the acute issues raised by the times. To be frank, this is hiding your head in the sand, an activity that ill behooves a communist.

Naturally, in order to win a debate you have to be properly prepared. But our political education system offers little along these lines. The work of the Higher Party Schools and the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee requires some perestroyka in view of the new conditions and tasks. Certainly, the main teacher is practice and personal experience. Books and lectures will not replace direct experience of public life. You experience it not by staying in the office but by plunging into the maelstrom of events and phenomena.

Many opinions are currently being expressed about what new approaches are needed in party cadre work in order to bring more genuine leaders and outstanding individuals to the forefront of the political arena. There are many of these among nonparty people. You also find them among the so-called informals who have adopted a constructive stance. So it is a matter of conducting a more through search for such people, trusting them more boldly, and giving them more active support.

Problems of interethnic relations have become very acute. The stance of the communist, who is essentially supposed to be an internationalist, is extremely important here too. But does every communist adopt such a stance? Unfortunately, this is not the case. Many party members are not only failing to rebuff manifestations of nationalism but are slaves to them, and, moreover, are contributing willy-nilly to kindling national discord. You will agree that it is difficult to square this with being a party member. Nationalism is incompatible with its program and with its statutes.

If we take a frank and honest look at life we are bound to see that rather complex and ambigious processes are taking place in the party. The new is coming into contact with the old and the conservative with the progressive. The force of inertia is inhibiting movement forward. Democracy sometimes gives way to demagoguery. The ultra-perestroyka-ites want to get there in a leap and a bound. All this requires thorough analysis and concrete measures.

But we must admit that the perestroyka of party life is a slow process at the moment. Ponderousness, persnicketiness, and tiresome stereotypes are still common. Compare the "informal" rallies and some of our plenums and party meetings. In the one case you have seething passions, in the other, everything is quiet and calm, with people giving tedious accounts of themselves.

A typical instance was cited at a plenum of the Tash-Kumyr Kirghiz Communist Party Gorkom. The primary party organization of a mine construction administration had heard a report by chief engineer and Communist V. Nasayev. No one made any comment on the report and there were no suggestions or criticism from any communists, although he had many shortcomings and deficiencies as a chief engineer. What the meeting decision said was: "It is required that shortcomings must be eliminated as soon as possible." Isn't this an instance of formalism? Who needs such reports? And there are many similar examples.

Letters to PRAVDA raise the question of making greater demands on party organizations in the matter of their carrying out their duty to the party. These reports, they observe, are supposed to be an effective means of party education. There is an opportunity and necessity here for a close and comradely and, at the same time, rigorous examination of all aspects of Communists' life and work. "Yes, all!" Muscovite Yefim Vasilyevich Pererva, CPSU member since 1942, exclaims in his letter. "But we often forget to check out the party member's moral complexion and pull him up sharply, if need be. So we then reap the bitter fruits of bureaucracy, careerism, subservience, complacency, and the stifling of criticism."

What can one say? The veteran is correct. The party at the moment is being scrutinized by the people. Its authority is made up of the authority of each communist. Let us remember that. Let us be more rigorous in regulating and maintaining our stance: a party-minded, principled stance.

Gosplan Official Urges Economic Work in Republics

18200448 Moscow TRUD in Russian
24 Aug 89 pp 1,2

[Report on interview with A.N. Troshin, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, by TRUD correspondent A. Pankov: "Inequality of the Equal"; date, place, occasion not given]

[Text] Problems of interethnic relations are rooted not only in historic, cultural-ethnographic, and religious

differences, but also in economic differences. It is necessary to solve the problem of equalizing and further increasing the levels of economic development in all regions in order to reinforce genuine rather than declarative internationalism and to be able to say responsibly that every republic is equal in the union of equals. This is the topic of an interview with A.N. Troshin, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], by a TRUD correspondent.

[Pankov] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, every Soviet man knows from his school years on that the ethnic periphery of the tsarist empire was backward, and that over the years of Soviet power much has been done to bring the levels of economic and social development of all union republics closer together. Still, you would have to agree that the difference is unfortunately quite perceptible to this day. In your opinion, what are the main reasons for this?

[Troshin] In my mind, the recently published draft of the CPSU platform "Ethnic Policy of the Party in the Contemporary Environment" makes quite a complete statement on the "inheritance" which all of us received. Answering your question as an economist, I will be forced to repeat certain things...

We still should not forget about tremendous differences in the "initial conditions" in which the development of republics within the USSR began. However, this is not the only issue. When we compare current indicators, we should also take into account the structure of the economy of every republic which has emerged under the influence of territorial division of labor, the imperfection of prices and methods for determining the contribution of regions to the unified complex of our country's national economy, demographic peculiarities.... I believe it is immediately understandable that higher birth rates in republics such as Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenia cause additional difficulties in solving social problems.

However, all reservations notwithstanding, it should be recognized that much more could have been achieved in many republics, particularly in Central Asia. We continued to repeat persistently at all levels that particular attention was being paid to this region, whereas in the last 5-year plan, a decrease in the growth rate of its socioeconomic development was allowed to occur. Of course, this reflects the general condition of our economy. However, it was more perceptible there due to demographic and some other conditions.

[Pankov] What are the planning organs doing to speed up the development of Southern republics? Are any obstacles being encountered in the process?

[Troshin] Higher rates of growth of the most significant indicators of development in the republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and some other republics are envisaged in the long-range studies. It is envisaged to improve the structure of industrial production in these republics and increase the share of industries manufacturing final products there which will facilitate comprehensive development of the region and will increase the share of industries with high profit margins.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures for a Profound Improvement in the Ecological and Sanitary Situation in the Area of the Aral Sea, Increasing the Efficiency of Utilization and Reinforcing the Protection of Water and Land Resources in its Tributary Area" adopted in 1988 will be very important for the development of the region.

Other measures are also being taken to solve the problems of the Central Asian republics. For example, the USSR Council of Ministers has recently considered and approved proposals of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Government of Uzbekistan concerning the accelerated economic and social development of the republic in 1991 through 1995.

Certainly the available potential of the union republics, primarily labor resources, need to be used more efficiently, and the new economic mechanism needs to be introduced quicker if everything planned is to be fulfilled.

The potential of republics in resolving social issues is substantially expanded by "The General Guidelines for Restructuring the Management of the Economy and the Social Sphere in Union Republics on the Basis of Expanding Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing" and the CPSU platform on ethnic policy, whose drafts are currently under discussion. However, this does not rule out the participation of the center in solving the most acute social problems of a particular region. It is envisaged that target programs will be developed, and support and subsidies will be provided to this end.

[Pankov] The newspaper TRUD carried a series of articles in 1988 which discussed the issues of the socioeconomic development of union republics. Thus, N. Nazarbayev, at the time chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], noted (TRUD, 5 July) that despite the tremendous changes which have occurred in the republic in the years of Soviet power, the level of industrialization is still low; the share of industry comes to only 46 percent. Also, industry is developing in a lopsided manner; the share of extractive industries is too high, while industries with high profit margins are almost entirely absent. Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan G. Veselkov observed (TRUD, 14 June) that the republic lacks such modern lines of production as instrument-making, electrotechnical, radiotechnical, and so on. How is the issue of development of the most modern industries in all regions going to be solved?

[Troshin] With regard to the specific statements by N. Nazarbayev and G. Veselkov, I will note that last year, in the course of preparing to work out the plan for the 13th 5-year period, proposals of the Councils of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR and the Tajik SSR on improving the

structure of their economies were given special consideration by the USSR Gosplan with the participation of ministries and departments. These proposals will be worked on in more detail during the development of the "Main Directions for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for the 13th 5-Year Plan and for the Period Until 2010."

Within 15 to 20 years it is planned to develop machinebuilding at an accelerated rate, including industries such as electrotechnical, instrument-making, radiotechnical, and electronic, as well as the industries which produce machinery for the agroindustrial complex and light industry of the region, exceeding the average for the country by a factor of two in Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

However, every republic should also prepare on its own and in good time for accepting modern research-intensive kinds of production. Let us say, it should take care of training highly skilled cadres.

[Pankov] Union ministries do not start up production in the southern republics very eagerly because, supposedly, skilled cadres are not available there in sufficient numbers, and consequently the rated capacity is not attained at many new enterprises for a long time. The quality of the products manufactured is very low and technological and production discipline is weak. However, where are skilled cadres to come from if modern lines of production do not appear there? What is expected to be done in order to overcome the psychological barrier of ministries?

[Troshin] Indeed, many ministries are reluctant to place their enterprises in some republics. It is not the psychological barrier that is at issue here, but the search for the most efficient variant of using the capital invested. In all of this, we cannot refer to all southern republics. For example, the ministries have recently placed a good number of enterprises in the republics of Transcaucasia, Kirghizia, and Moldavia.

Improving the economic mechanism of incentives for both parties is the main avenue of our work. If the republic wants a new enterprise reporting to the union to appear in its territory, it should facilitate this by rendering assistance in cadre training, developing the construction industry and infrastructure in good time.... The ministries should also reconsider their attitude toward the territories being "developed." I think that the expansion of the rights of republics and the planned introduction of fees for land, water, and labor resources will help in normalizing these mutual relations, which at present are occasionally quite tense, on a more correct and fair basis, with mutual responsibility.

[Pankov] As a rule, there is a surplus of labor resources in the southern republics. However, when industrial enterprises are opened there, migrants from the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Ukraine account for a substantial share rather than local workers.... Does it make sense to transfer labor like that if using indigenous cadres is not very successful? How are we to overcome this vicious circle?

[Troshin] Indeed, there is such a problem. Perhaps this is primarily due to the past preference for building enterprises in major cities where many migrants from other regions live. With a view to tapping the local population on a broader scale for industrial production, it is desirable to open new enterprises in medium-size and small cities and in rural areas, where the share of inhabitants of the native ethnic group is considerably higher. It is also desirable to set up primarily small enterprises, branches, and shops. We should give up megalomania.

However, this will now depend on the republics as well, to a considerable degree.

[Pankov] Previously the concept of narrow regional specialization was dominant. What is the attitude of the planning organs toward this at present? For example, how is the issue of tea, cotton, tobacco, and other "single crops" which has brought about unfavorable social consequences, depletion of the land resources, and delays in the development of other industries going to be resolved? (Chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers G. Kadyrov, among others, discussed this in TRUD, 10 July 1988.)

[Troshin] Saying that such a concept was "dominant" is hardly correct. The specialization of regions is a consequence of the territorial division of labor based on rational distribution of productive assets, on specific natural or economic conditions in individual regions of the country, and, at times, on objective necessity. As far as the single-crop economy is concerned, it is necessary to rectify the situation in this sphere.

The already mentioned resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the Aral Sea, envisages the determination of the optimal structure of agriculture in the region.

[Pankov] Some republics, primarily in the south, as well as certain areas of the RSFSR, essentially remain raw-material bases. Incidentally this was noted by Chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers A. Khodzhamuradov (TRUD, 17 May 1988). Many kinds of raw materials are almost not processed locally. This is particularly the case with agricultural products. As a result, such a region loses profits. Besides, there is no due supply of one's own products: That same Turkmenia imports great amounts of canned fruits and vegetables from other republics. How is the issue of deeper processing of raw materials locally going to be solved?

[Troshin] The draft "General Principles" provide for the transfer of enterprises of the agroindustrial complex, light industry, and some other industries to the control of republics, which would create favorable conditions for developing processing industries more extensively and meeting the needs of the populace for their products.

If we were to refer specifically to the fruit and vegetable production in Central Asian republics, the share of its industrial processing comes to merely about a quarter, and the assortment cannot be considered satisfactory either. However, with all conditions taken into account, the region could not only fully satisfy its needs but also become one of the main suppliers for other republics.

In view of this, the accelerated development of the fruit-and-vegetable complex in Central Asia is envisaged in the next 5-year plan. For example, a special resolution of the union government on the development of fruit and stone-fruit crop production on non-irrigated lands in the Tajik SSR has been adopted.

[Pankov] The union republics look at economic accountability with hope, believing that it is exactly then that they will have real economic power and a degree of self-management. This is advocated with particular vigor by the Baltic republics, which will be the first to shift to economic accountability next year, and by Belorussia, i.e., those whose financial status is more favorable. However, some Southern republics are proceeding cautiously; moreover, they believe that that they will not ensure the rapid development of their economies without the aid of other republics and the center. What is your position on territorial economic accountability? What strengths and weaknesses of the proposed draft of the "General Principles" have already come up in the course of their discussion?

[Troshin] Certainly this is a topic for a separate conversation. I will only say that the discussion of the draft "General Principles" and now also of the CPSU platform on ethnic policy by the entire people, discussions at the congress and the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and its decision on this issue testify to their timeliness and expediency. However, it is a mistake to view the implementation of elements of territorial economic accountability as a course toward the isolation of the union republics. Quite the opposite, the task is to encourage direct links among the republics and to improve mutual relations with the center; primarily in the field of optimal division of rights and responsibilities between the center and the republic. However, the main objective of territorial economic accountability is to use the existing economic potential of the union republics, both the "Southern" and the "Northern," as much as possible, increase the efficiency of production, and ensure by virtue of that the necessary level of social development for all peoples of our country.

Facts for Reflection

The gross volume of industrial production per capita in the Baltic republics is approximately three times higher than in the republics of Central Asia.

The gross volume of agricultural production per capita in the Baltic republics, as well as in Moldavia and Belorussia, is 2.3 to 3.3 times higher than in Armenia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Georgia.

According to the data of Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics], the per capita production of foodstuffs (excluding alcoholic beverages) in 1988 amounted to R1,088 in Estonia, R835 in Latvia, R778 in Lithuania, R584 in Belorussia, R571 in the Ukraine, R557 in Moldavia, R453 in Georgia, R405 in the RSFSR, R305 in Kazakhstan, R263 in Kirghizia, R250 in Armenia, R228 in Azerbaijan, R200 in Uzbekistan, R180 in Turkmenia, and R170 in Tajikistan.

The production of non-foodstuffs consumer goods per capita in 1988 amounted to R1,702 in Latvia, R1,507 in Estonia, R1,318 in Lithuania, R1,164 in Belorussia, R1,053 in Armenia, R816 in Moldavia, R778 in the RSFSR, R683 in Georgia, R670 in the Ukraine, R461 in Azerbaijan, R407 in Kirghizia, R349 in Tajikistan, R299 in Kazakhstan, R293 in Uzbekistan, and R175 in Turkmenia.

The volume of per capita retail merchandise sales and services per capita in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belorussia, and the RSFSR is 1.5 to 3 times higher than in Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Kirghizia, and Turkmenia.

The number of hospital beds per 10,000 population in Latvia, the RSFSR, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, and the Ukraine is 1.2 to 1.6 times higher than in Armenia (before the earthquake), Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Georgia, and Turkmenia.

The number of places in day care facilities per 1,000 children in the age bracket 1 to 6 years in Estonia, the RSFSR, Lithuania, Belorussia, Latvia, and the Ukraine is 2 to 5 times higher than in Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, Kirghizia, and Turkmenia.

Payments and support from the social consumption funds per capita in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the RSFSR are 1.5 to 2 times higher than in Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenia, and Kirghizia.

The birthrate in Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, and Kirghizia is 2 to 3 times higher than in the Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, Belorussia, and Lithuania.

Energy Minister on Need for Reliable Power Supply

LD0609162289 Moscow TASS in English 1401 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—A Soviet minister described as illusion the view held by some people who believe that new energy facilities should not be built.

"It is now fashionable to set energy against ecology. Rectifying the past mistakes, ensuring general protection of the environment, we must however realise that it is impossible to solve ecological problems without a reliable supply of power," Yuriy Semenov, minister of energy and electrification, told the newspaper GOVERNMENT HERALD.

A reduction in the production of electricity at Soviet nuclear power stations and wide opposition to the construction of power stations led to a 6 million KWT deficit of the energy balance this autumn and winter, or eight per cent of the capacity consumed by the country's industry.

The situation is difficult in Transcaucasia, where at the request of the republic the Armenian nuclear power station was shut down, and in the North Caucasian region. A delay in the commissioning of a nuclear power station capacities seriously hampered the energy supply of the Ukraine. The past summer in Central Asia was rather dry. At the request of republican bodies water stocks in the water reservoirs of hydroelectric power stations were used to meet farming needs. As a result, a major hydroelectric power station on Nurek stands with an empty reservoir on the threshold of winter. Summer was also arid in Siberia which will put additional load on the region's thermal power stations.

'No Casualties' From 1957 Explosion Refuted

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[Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian for 26 August 1989 publishes on page 7 a 400-word letter from F. Petrochenko entitled "There are No 'Little' Chernobyls." Petrochenko takes issue with a statement made by B. Nikipelov, USSR Medium Machine Building deputy minister, published in TRUD on 21 June 1989. (For a translation of this article, see the 29 June 1989 Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 74-75.) Nikipelov stated that there were no casualties following the 1957 explosion and subsequent radioactive contamination in Chelyabinsk Oblast. Petrochenko writes that he was serving in the Army at that time, and his motor vehicle unit was sent to Chelyabinsk to help evacuate the population. He says that "although no one died due to the explosion," a fellow soldier named Grigoriy Koldirevskiy was exposed to radiation. "The next day he complained about a heaviness in his legs. They sent him to the hospital. He died soon after that."

Perestroyka Not to Blame for High Crime Rate

LD0609192289 Moscow TASS in English 1851 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 6 TASS—A leading Soviet criminologist has cleared perestroyka of the blame for a high crime rate in the country.

Addressing newsmen at the Foreign Ministry's press centre today, Igor Karpets, director of the national research institute dealing with issues of law and order under the USSR prosecutor's office, stated that in the conditions of perestroyka and the efforts to establish the rule of law, when society is in a state of shock, it is necessary to assess crime not in figures, but in terms of the actual situation on the basis of an in-depth study of its causes.

Karpets disagreed with the opinion of those who think that Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of restructuring, or perestroyka, is one of the causes of increased crime in the country.

"Revolutionary changes, wherever they occur, have always been accompanied by increased crime," he remarked.

In his view, all law-enforcement bodies in the country should pool efforts to increase efficiency in the war on crime.

He also thinks that all these bodies without exception should cooperate in view of the growth of felonies and organised crime, pointing to an important role that the State Security Committee, KGB, could play in this effort.

Karpets favoured establishing ties with Interpol and developing cooperation with law-enforcement agencies in other countries.

Commenting on law-making in the USSR, he expressed regret that the hasty adoption of laws remains common practice, often contrary to expert opinion.

In this connection, he called for closer contacts between jurists and law-enforcement officers and parliamentary commissions and committees.

Soviet History Shows Perestroyka 'Only Path'

PM0109115189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Stanislav Kondrashov "Political Observer's Opinion": "Two Augusts"]

[Text] At a time when we are marking the 50th anniversary of the Soviet-German nonaggression pact and Hitler's subsequent invasion of Poland, two views of what happened are at the least appropriate—views from the two Augusts—1939 and 1989. The former view is more evident in our articles using history as a justification—Stalin supposedly had no other way out of the then prevailing situation. One can agree with that. Stalin had no other way out, especially since he remained Stalin before and after August 1939. But the second view, from August 1989, is more important because, by revealing virtually the entire 20th century, it enables us to sum up long overdue results and pass judgment on history from the lofty vantage point of the path traveled.

On whom and on what is this verdict passed? Hitler is dead on two counts—both as Hitler the man and as Hitlerism, which has been eradicated from the state structures and ideology of the two German states, the division of which he left as a long-term legacy of his 12 (only 12!) criminal years in power. Chamberlain is long dead, but his policy of appeasement of the aggressor became outdated even in his lifetime, and in the postwar years, when the world was divided by the "cold war" barricades, it found no influential followers in the

United States, which had become the center of the Western camp. So, payment in kind has long since been made and history has passed its own verdict. Stalin is also long dead, but Stalinism proved the most tenacious of the realities of the prewar world—and parting with it the most protracted.

Yes, history is late in passing judgment, but complaining about it only means complaining about ourselves and the slow rate of our development. Judgment is still—in August 1989—being passed on the Stalinist and neo-Stalinist model of socialism, in turbulent and dramatic forms. This is not taking place at "roundtables" of scientists and historians absorbed in the upheaval of August 1939. In Poland the economic crisis and the quickening dynamics of political pluralism have led to the formation of the first government chaired by a Catholic—a noncommunist and a "Solidarity" leader—in the postwar years. The protest in the Soviet Baltic republics against the secret deal between Stalin and Hitler and the events of summer 1940 has assumed massive proportions, working on demands not only for economic but also political independence, including secession from the Soviet Union. Fifty years on history and masses of people rather than the "special meetings" of the Stalinist era are passing judgment, and this judgment has been able to take such a radical form owing to the democracy which has emerged in our country for the first time and owing to the ever-increasing radicalism of perestroyka. I do not believe that the people who initiated perestroyka supposed it would move so swiftly and on such a broad front.

If you take the August of 50 years ago, it is palpably obvious from our time that World War II was inevitable. Whatever game of solitaire took shape as a result of diplomatic maneuverings on the part of the four powers—Britain, France, Germany, and the USSR—you could not change the central fact—the nature of the Nazi state, whose obsession with ideas of world domination stemmed from the idea of the Germans' racial exclusivity and was fostered by the blood of the first victims and the first successes, which bolstered the conquering aggressive spirit of Europe's most powerful military machine. In Hitler's Germany the suicidal pathology of the contender for world domination prevailed over the instinct for self-preservation which is characteristic of "normal states," just as of normal people. By the way, given the availability of nuclear weapons, it is this primordial instinct for self-preservation (it is common sense after all) that is now behind the appeals for morality in world politics: We can only survive by considering other states' interests, that is, by being able to put ourselves in their shoes and by behaving in a moral fashion.

An anti-Hitler coalition was impossible before the war because ideologically hard-line states (the USSR on the one hand, Britain and France on the other) hoped to ensure their self-preservation at each other's expense, in an endeavor not so much to halt German aggression as to channel it in another direction. Both sides played into the aggressor's hands in one way or another, enabling it to implement the principle of divide and rule, divide and act with impunity. It was only when the Fuehrer declared war on both the bourgeois democratic world and the Stalinist Soviet Union that self-preservation proved imperative and it proved possible to "harness the restive steed and the timid deer" to one carriage. When Hitler was overthrown and the task of self-preservation was resolved for each of the members of the anti-Hitler coalition, the alliance of the war years could not help but break up owing to its own heterogeneous nature. The beginning of the "cold war" was as inevitable as the beginning of World War II. Why? It was not a matter of aggressive machinations on either side of the "Iron Curtain" but of the fact that stable peaceful coexistence was impossible between the bourgeois democracies led by the messianic United States and the Stalinist-type totalitarianism which maintained a system of repression in the Soviet Union and East Europe and was no stranger to the idea of world revolution (although it did not have enough "material backup" for that). Such stable coexistence is only becoming possible owing to the democratic perestroyka of our foreign policy, which has been described as new political thinking.

However, let us return to the question of history's verdict. Even in the era of glasnost it is still difficult to say out loud certain simple but fundamental things. Two totalitarian states existed before the war—Germany and the USSR—and two dictators used two different ideologies to serve the interests of their own personal power, although Hitler strove to strengthen his power by improving the life of the "chosen race," while Stalin did it by bleeding his country and army white via the most brutal repressions. As a result of the war one totalitarian regime (in the form of national socialism) was smashed and destroyed. While the other totalitarian regime was victorious, singing the praises of the "greatest military leader of all time and all peoples." It was victorious and it consolidated itself. We have not hitherto been accustomed to talking about this aspect of the great people's victory. We have hitherto refused to clearly separate the two aspects of the victory—the price paid by the people in the brutal and bloody war for their fatherland, and how the leader and the antipeople and antidemocratic system created by his "genius," which we now describe as the administrative-edict system, disposed of the fruits of victory.

Our losses almost equaled the losses incurred by all the other peoples involved in World War II, and if we do our sums properly (which has not hitherto been the case) they maybe even exceeded them. This sea of the people's blood wrote off, as it were, the other sea of blood shed by Stalin and his stooges during the years of famine and mass repressions organized by the authorities—because judgment is not passed on the victors.

What did the people get out of this victory? What did they get, judging in terms of the "end result" of the entire postwar period? The life we now live, life in a military superpower and third-rate—in terms of "everyday

living" indicators—country. Plus the philosophy of sacrifice—"If only to prevent war!"—which is only now becoming obsolete in the presence of a broader and more open view of the world around us, which is by no means such a source of threat. Yes, triumph and tragedy. The triumph of 4 years of selfless heroism and the tragedy of a 40-year journey along a road without democracy. That is how the system of Stalinist "socialism"—which moved on to Khrushchev and Brezhnev, having long outlived its creator, who was posthumously cursed and then almost glorified again—disposed of the fruits of victory. Moreover, the Stalinist model of socialism was also extended to East Europe, establishing Moscow's harsh patronage there. It enabled our enemies—and not only our enemies—to talk about the last empire on earth—the Soviet empire. If it is an empire, it is unlike traditional empires; this is an empire where the metropolitan area is worse off than the "outlying districts" and where the core of this strange "empire"—Russia deep in the middle, which has as it were even lost its historic name and obtained in return the strictly "production" name of Central Non-Chernozem Zone—is the worst off.

These ideas come into your head when you think about the two Augusts and about the turbulent events accompanying this jubilee. When history and the people's wishes are violated, sooner or later account must be rendered for the violence—the later it is, the more severe. Tyutchev wrote the following—apparently about the post-Stalinist decades: "Covered in blood from head to foot we are fighting the dead who are refusing to lie down." It is not those who committed the violence (for they are only refusing to lie down) but the new totally blameless generations who must pay the grim account. People in the Baltic region who have suddenly found themselves in the position of "migrants" displaced by the indigenous population are not to blame. Nor, on the other hand, are those people who appear as nationalists in the eyes of the "migrants" but who in fact only want to preserve their national roots and the national features of their land. The low standard of living and the worsening shortage of food and industrial commodities is the prime cause of the interethnic tension. These factors in conjunction with a look at the Scandinavian countries encourage separatist sentiments and raise the question: What have we obtained?

Real, truthful history must take the place of the persisting myths and falsehoods. The sooner the better, since events show that delay in drawing conclusions is intolerable even in prestigious commissions. But an honest view of history that sees the injustice of the past (on that very question of the three Baltic republics' incorporation in the USSR) does not constitute a surgical scalpel amputating an entire 50-year period. Only fools or undoubted extremists think that you can reverse the course of history, returning Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonian to the allegedly serene prewar past. Here it is appropriate to talk about the culprits. Willy-nilly, people who rush around inciting others to extreme actions and sow the seeds of hatred instead of tolerance and mutual understanding are to blame. Extremism is an extreme, and extremes merge; the supporters of immediate separation and secession from the USSR are working on those people who want to resolutely suppress separatist backlashes, including with the use of military measures.

Of course, the work of democratic persuasion is more difficult than banging the table with your fist. But that is the essence of perestroyka and the main conclusion to be drawn from the time of the Stalin cult, Khrushchev's voluntarism, and Brezhnevian stagnation. Of course, perestroyka is vulnerable to criticism, but that is what has revealed many possibilities for patient dialogue and quests for consensus, although we acknowledge that a great deal of time has been lost and passions have risen too high, notably owing to the delayed reaction from the center, which—as shown by the rich practice of recent years—is often late in making a sober assessment of fundamentally new situations in interethnic relations.

August 1939, June 1941, May 1945, and many other dates of memorable importance are clearly visible from the vantage point of August 1989. The historical past is often clearer than the future and we have frequently seen this for ourselves en route to our "bright future" and the "shining peaks." What will happen in 1, 2, or 5 years? Our time is a time of historical change and turmoil, a time of accounting for the past, a time to choose a new path. Self-restraint, along with decisiveness and wise circumspection in conjunction with courage are required of society and its leaders in order to proceed along this democratic path which does not promise a quiet life but which is the only true and fruitful path. We have had too many occasions to see where the other road leads.

Omsk Official Discusses 'Apparatus' Perestroyka

PM3108152389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unnamed correspondent interview with Ye.D. Pokhitaylo, first secretary of Omsk CPSU Obkom and USSR people's deputy, under the rubric "We Continue the Debate on Perestroyka Within the Party": "The Potential of the Apparatus"; date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] The party apparatus in conditions of perestroyka: this topic is the center of attention today for Communists, the public, and the press and it is increasingly frequently the subject of the numerous debates currently under way. Disparate assessments have been made of the work of party committees and their apparatus. Some people state categorically that the party apparatus is the "main brake on perestroyka" and its "ossification" "casts a shadow" over the activity of the entire party which initiated the renewal. Directly opposed conclusions are also voiced: "Only the party apparatus can resist those forces which are trying to wreck our economy once and for all and destabilize the situation." References are made here to Lenin's words in the plans for the pamphlet "On a Food Tax": "Without

the 'apparatus' we would have perished long since." Nonetheless, what is the nature of the party apparatus today? What tasks face it? How is it improving its activity in the light of the demands made by the CPSU for the perestroyka of party work? Our correspondent began his conversation with Ye.D. Pokhitaylo, first secretary of Omsk CPSU Oblast Committee [obkom] and USSR people's deputy, with these questions.

[Pokhitaylo] Let me point out straightaway that this selfsame work by Lenin also mentions something else—the need for a systematic improvement in the work of the apparatus otherwise, Vladimir Ilich writes, "we will perish before the construction of the base of socialism." I would like to recall that this idea was also voiced at a meeting at the CPSU Central Committee in July: "We need an apparatus which is capable of skillfully performing its functions and aiding elective organs." I think that this is a very correct formulation of the question. It provides us with clear guidelines in implementing "apparatus" perestroyka.

The attitude to the apparatus is indeed a conflicting one now. This is illustrated merely by a fact to which I drew attention in a central press article concerning the events of June in Fergana Oblast: Some people went to the rayon party committee [raykom] building to destroy it while others went there to find protection. I think that both groups realized that party bodies hold real power at local levels. But some people are endeavoring to compromise them as much as possible. Those who are sincerely worried about the future of perestroyka, assess the situation quite differently. They see party committees as the real force—the generator of renewal—and rightly demand the considerable acceleration of perestroyka.

[Correspondent] What, in your opinion, has provoked the criticism of party committees and, especially, their apparatus, which has worsened recently? For one would have thought that everyone realizes that it was the party that took charge of the perestroyka process and assessed its mistakes in social and economic policy in an honest and self-critical fashion.

[Pokhitaylo] I believe the point is that it is via the apparatus that the party has always endeavored to implement the various tasks facing it and the country as a whole. If we succeeded in finding any positive solution, we talked about it for all to hear. If something did not turn out right, we preferred to keep silent, thus driving the problem within.

In my view, that was our main mistake. In shouldering the heavy load of all the problems that had accumulated in society the party tried to resolve them itself—primarily by means of the apparatus. But, as you can see, it did not succeed in everything—not only the phenomena of the period of stagnation but also the omissions (sometimes very serious ones) and the superficial hasty decisions of the past few years have taken their toll. The socioeconomic situation in the country is still tense. Under these conditions various bawlers and extremists are trying to convince working people that the party is incapable of governing society. That is why today as never before we must activate more fully our creative potential and the combatant qualities that have always been characteristic of Communists and under no circumstances strike any bargains with our consciences. We must strengthen our ties with the working class, peasantry, and the intelligentsia, and skillfully target their actions to attaining those goals that we have set our society.

[Correspondent] One cannot help talking today about the pessimism which is currently eating away at Communists' convictions like rust. There are many people leaving the party who attribute their decision to disagreement with some concrete actions and with our line on various acute questions. What is your opinion on this score?

[Pokhitaylo] Our obkom bureau recently discussed the work of an assembly plant party committee. I was, in particular, made suspicious by the fact that a young worker and former internationalist soldier made an application to leave the party. What prompted him to decide on such a step? It transpires that he is categorically opposed to cooperatives—what he considers to be a form of legalized easy gain and speculation. In his opinion, conscientious labor at the plant has become less esteemed than work in dubious cooperatives, where the uncontrolled high incomes are by no means reflected in the quality of the goods.

This problem does indeed exist. But is it permissible to solve it by such methods as leaving the party? Does this not in effect mean that one is giving up and refusing to fight? Aren't the plant party committee, the CPSU raykom, city party committee, and obkom, and their apparatuses to blame for failing to thoroughly investigate the essence of these feelings and doubts on the part of the worker and help him understand his contradictory thoughts and actions? Yet this is, in my opinion, precisely one of the most important functions of the party apparatus—to know how Communists live and what worries them. It is only then that frank dialogue and individual work with people are possible. That is the only way to foster in Communists the certainty of the correctness of our cause which is so necessary today.

Of course, there is no need to keep people in the party by force. But we must not let things slide either. Yet, it has reached the point where certain party officials have begun to say that there are too many people in the party and so nothing will happen until some members leave. I regard such arguments as party officials' way of justifying their own inactivity. And what criteria are they using to assess whether there are too many or too few Communists in our ranks?

All these questions were the center of attention at a recent meeting of the oblast party aktiv. Then we cited

the following figures: Last year 129 people left the party in our oblast, while 339 people have already left in the first 6 months of this year. We definitely voiced our opinion on this score: Resignation from the party is equivalent to running away from the front line, leaving the fight, deserting.

We are currently devoting particular attention to swelling CPSU ranks. We are trying to accept more workers and peasants. For our party is the party of the working class and the peasantry and we must never forget that. [Passage omitted].

[Correspondent] Everyone was aware that party committees began to tackle all economic questions indiscriminately over the last few decades. That is why their apparatus was made up on the whole of national economic specialists. Unable to master the methods of political leadership, they transferred the command style there. It was this that began to determine the atmosphere of the apparatus' activity. As a result even those people who had mastered the art of persuasion lost it in time.

[Pokhitaylo] I would not agree with that. You know that according to the law of dialectics the new is born from the heart of the old. There were very many politically mature people among party apparatus workers during the period of stagnation who were sickened by the adminstrative-edict style. They expressed their disagreement with it in various forms, proposing new methods of political leadership in our society.

At present our apparatus has not only been cut by one-third but has also been considerably renewed. We have selected for work at the obkom primarily those people who, in our view, have profoundly analyzed perestroyka and mastered political methods of bringing it to fruition. We reckon that bold people who do not tolerate shortcomings must be nominated for party work.

Many party officials in our oblast were enamored of their staffs at one time. Certain obkom secretaries would head up to 10 of these staffs at once. Party chairmen roamed from one planning meeting to another, effectively wasting time, both theirs and that of their subordinates. This procedure suited economic managers: They shifted the blame for any failure onto the party committee and its apparatus. Obviously all this resulted in the reduction of its prestige.... [Passage omitted].

[Correspondent] The question of privileges is often discussed trenchantly at various rallies and in discussion clubs. Can you please clarify this question.

[Pokhitaylo] I think everything is clear here. It is unbecoming to count the money in someone else's pocket, nonetheless I will point out the following in order to dispel the myth about superhigh salaries for obkom workers: Instructors and heads of apparatus sectors obtain the same wage as leading engineers in the main specialisms at machine-building and petrochemical enterprises and in railroad transport, while a deputy head and head of an apparatus department receive less than the leader of an industrial enterprise workshop.

Most people who have been invited to work on the obkom party staff lose out, considerably, in wage terms. For instance, instructor V.P. Nozdrichev (a former state farm director) now takes home R100 less per month than before. Obkom party secretary O.M. Leonov's contribution to the family budget—he was previously in charge of a machine-building association—has fallen by more than R200 per month.

[Correspondent] In initiating perestroyka the party drew the fire on itself. But some party officials were not ready for the fight and were confused. What ideas do you have in this connection?

[Pokhitaylo] The party cannot exercise a leading role in society while holding defensive positions. Our tactics and strategy must be offensive. For this everyone needs to increase their work. I would like to say something else: We have recently for some reason had a desire to paint ourselves blacker than we actually are. Of course, our shortcomings must be criticized and must not be "glossed over." But when the process of destruction prevails over construction, no good can, of course, be expected from it.

[Correspondent] The development of democracy and glasnost in our society has led to a real "explosion" in the population's civic activeness and has brought to life the most varied action movements and informal associations. On what basis should party committees build their relations with them?

[Pokhitaylo] Here in Omsk there are at present more than a dozen unofficial public organizations of a political orientation. They include both formal—that is, those registered as organs of soviet power—and informal organizations. I believe that party organizations must support progressive initiatives and organize constructive cooperation with informal associations. At the same time we must deal a resolute rebuff to manifestations of extremism and nationalism and attempts to destabilize the situation in society.

To conclude our conversation, I would like to recall the July meeting at the CPSU Central Committee once again. The discussion there was very trenchant and frank. We witnessed an in-depth analysis of the state of affairs in the party and the situation in the country. Then the main conclusion was drawn: Every party organization and every Communist must act more vigorously and more resolutely. Our party upheld its role as the political vanguard of society in the revolutionary struggle, and our people are perfectly well aware of this. They see the CPSU as the only force capable of heading the struggle for perestroyka and waging it in the interests of socialism and the interests of the entire people.

Book Aims To Show 'Importance of Perestroyka'

LD0509170289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1035 GMT 5 Sep 89

["A New Book About Perestroyka Has Been Published in the USSR"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—"Perestroyka and the present-day world" [Perestroyka I Sovremennyy Mir]: this is the title of the book which has been published in the USSR and which was prepared for the press on the initiative of the Institute of the International Workers' Movement of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Its aim is to show the importance of perestroyka in the USSR for speeding up social development and the role of innovative Soviet policies in the present-day world. Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, shares his thoughts about the difficult processes of reforms and their socio-economic sources.

Various aspects of perestroyka are examined by Academician Abel Aganbegyan, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Timur Timofeyev, and other authors. A number of distinguished foreign politicians—Rodney Arismendi, Louis van Geyt, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Bettino Craxi, and Dimitr Stanishev—set out their opinions about the effect of perestroyka on international life. The complex, dynamically developing processes of the renewal of socialism are being examined, taking into account the major changes in the economy and politics of the world.

The book is published by the "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya" [International Relations] publishing house.

Several New Publications Made Available

LD0609122189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Summary] Several new publications have appeared on the list of magazines for subscription. Yakov Belitskiy talks to Vladimir Ivanovich Kolyshev, deputy head of the directorate of periodical publications of the USSR State Committee for Publishing:

According to the recently adopted decision on the organization of party press, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA and STROITELNAYA GAZETA are being merged into RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, which will come out in four pages in the PRAVDA format. The CPSU Central Committee is putting out a new paper, DIALOG, on the basis of POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE and AGITATOR, which will come out in 18 editions per year. Other changes are the renaming of EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA as EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN. It will come out once a week. SOVETSKAYA KULTURA will come out in 16 pages, once a week, UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA in 12 pages, once a week, there will be two supplements to SOVETSKAYA KULTURA of which one, EKRANA I STSENA with 8 pages, is completely new, while ARKHITEKTURA which used to be a supplement to STROITELNAYA GAZETA will now belong to SOVETSKAYA KULTURA.

From the beginning of next year the leading publication of the USSR Supreme Soviet will change its name to NARODNYY DEPUTAT. There will be 18 editions. IZVESTIYA will come out with a weekly supplement, SOYUZ, devoted to the problems between nationalities that are now cropping up.

As for publications put out by other organizations there are changes there too. Thus the specialist NECHERNOZEMYE which was put out by the State Agro-Industrial Committee of the nonchernozem zone is being taken over by the Central Committee of the Komsomol, and it will become a mass-readership social and political publication, with 12 numbers per year. The magazine GARMONIYA will be a very interesting publication by the USSR Ministry of Health and the USSR State Committee for Publishing, coming out for the moment four times per year, aimed at people who want to lead healthy lives.

The Academy of Science is putting out a magazine, CHELOVEK, which is turning from a yearbook of philosophy, sociology, science and technology, to a magazine coming out six times per year. It is aimed at specialists in sociology.

Starting next year there will be unrestricted subscription for the magazine SOVETSKAYA MILITSIYA, which up to now was only available to those working in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

New USSR-Italian Ecological Magazine Launched

LD3109202289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Summary] The first issue of the Soviet-Italian ecological magazine (AKVA) has been published. (Yevgeniy Georgiyevich Gringaut), the editor of the Russian edition was interviewed. Gringaut summarized the material published in the first issue and stated that Soviet authors will have a third of the space in the magazine in accordance with agreements signed. Two issues of the magazine are to be published this year, next year six are planned, and in 1991 it will be published monthly. It costs 2 rubles 50 kopecks.

Economic Accountability in Party Press Viewed

PM3108155989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 89 p 1

[Article by S.A. Kuleshev, inspector at the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs, under the "Topical Issue!" rubric: "Newspapers and Budgets"]

[Excerpts] On 21 July the Lithuanian youth paper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA (KOMJAUNIMO

TIESA) was published with an enormous "hole" in the front page: In a space that usually accommodates 700 lines there were only 11. Here they are: This issue of KOMJAUNIMO TIESA is 560,000 copies, the paper's profit is more than R1.5 million per year, and 93.8 percent of the profits go to the CPSU Central Committee. This page is our first protest against this situation!" The appeal was signed by the Lithuanian Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee Bureau and the KOMJAUNIMO TIESA editorial collegium.

It was the Lithuanian journalists' and Lithuanian Komsomol's way of raising the problem of economic accountability arrangements in the press. We asked CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs inspector S.A. Kushelev, to comment on the established procedure governing the financial and economic activity of periodicals in the party publications system.

[Kushelev] I want to make it clear right away that, in the first place, income from party publications goes not to the CPSU Central Committee but into the party budget, which is not the same thing. Second, not all the income goes into the party budget but only a part—around two-thirds. For example, profits from youth papers and journals amounting to R28.5 million per year go into the All-Union Komsomol budget. [passage omitted]

Now let us consider Lithuanian publications specifically. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee publishing house incorporates the editorial offices of two youth papers and three journals. And not all of them are profitable. Two are subsidized. What do we do? The simplest thing of all would be to close them down. But would the readers understand the journalists and publishers and would they too not then protest? Complex questions which should not be decided hastily. Moreover, the publishing house also has two newspapers that are losing money. For example, the Polish-language paper CZERWONY SZTANDAR, subsidy—R319,700 per year; LIETUVOS PIONERIUS—R69,600, and SOVETSKAYA LITVA—R62,900 per year. In publishing them let us take into account both the national interests of citizens living in Lithuania and the interests of the different categories of the population. Therefore, on a countrywide scale too one envisages a kind of redistribution of funds in order to be able to publish the kind of papers and journals the public needs. [passage omitted]

The fact that not all the details of our publishing plan are perfect is something else again. The times make their own adjustments. And one can understand editorial collectives who want a freer hand with the money they have earned. A great deal has been done in this area of late. For example, redistribution of itemized editorial expenditure is authorized on the basis of actual rather than imaginary needs. Extra payments are authorized for people who hold more than one office, and there are no restrictions on the size of the payments or the list of offices involved. Very highly qualified personnel can be paid 50 percent extra. And, finally, working people can receive bonuses as a result of the annual saving on royalties.

Now we come to the introduction of economic accountability principles in the activities of editorial offices. Certainly, this is overdue. Moreover, the elements of economic accountability are already operating in the case of some publications. We are currently considering a whole range of proposals on this.

I am sure that in time all this will make less acute the problem of providing editorial offices with the requisite equipment and providing incentives for creative collectives. The elements of economic accountability which are being finalized at the moment will make for more flexible use of the money that is being earned. [passage omitted]

Major General Sein Discusses 'Anti-Army Syndrome'

PM0109094989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Major General V. Sein, first deputy chief of the Baltic Military District Political Directorate, under the rubric "We Discuss the Nationalities Issue": "Do We Need 'Our Own' Barracks?"]

[Text] Riga—The processes of democratization and glasnost have not left the Army untouched. And how could it be otherwise? After all, the Army is part of society. That is why we should not nowadays talk about the Army as if it were a living organism free from problems and contradictions.

Yes, there are many problems. But, as an Army political worker, I am worried about the fact that increasingly often, groundless accusations are being leveled against military personnel. What explanation is there for this clearly expressed anti-Army syndrome in a number of rally speeches and articles in the local mass media? Whom do they benefit? You cannot help asking these questions when you analyze the prevailing situation and the military aspects of the programs of the people's fronts and movements in the Baltic.

"Isn't it true that there are pickets in the Baltic cities using the slogan 'Down with the Soviet forces of occupation'?"—that is the kind of question I have been asked by many acquaintances living in other parts of the country. Such questions are also to be found in citizens' letters and appeals to the command and Political Directorate of the Baltic Military District. We have to bitterly state that yes, sometimes we have been unable to avoid distortions, misrepresentations, and even the whipping up of emotions. I have seen for myself placards and slogans that are more scathing and insulting than those mentioned above.

I once chatted with one of the participants in such a "show"—admittedly, he refused to give his name. I tried to find out just what he meant by "occupation." Did he

know that documents show that in 1940 the working people of Latvia and the other Baltic states greeted Soviet servicemen with flowers and a 21-gun salute in their honor? Finally, isn't it blasphemous to forget about the deeds of those who, without sparing their blood and their very lives, saved the Baltic people from the yoke of fascist servitude?

I did not get any sensible answer. On the other hand, my attention was drawn to the interest with which young guys who would soon be donning soldiers' greatcoats were following our conversation. And I suddenly felt uncomfortable: What would their attitude be on joining up? And what would their commanders and political workers have to do to encourage them and eradicate their doubts and false conceptions of Army service?

You will agree that these are not idle questions. They are things that merit serious consideration. Unhurried consideration, without groundless accusations. But maybe some people will not like this balanced and constructive approach?

Here, for instance, is a request from the People's Front of Latvia Duma Board, signed by P. Lakis and S. Kalniyete. The document contains a whole series of demands with a view to improving relations between the Army and the republic's civilian population, the preamble notes, and in order to improve the economic position of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and strengthen the moral and political mood and health of young servicemen from the republic. Just what demands exactly? To restore territorial military units to Latvia, where residents of the Latvian SSR would henceforth serve. To reduce the number of troops in Latvia. To give military commissariats the right in exceptional circumstances to allow a similar period of compulsory labor service as an alternative to military service.

Certain institutions (the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Zoological and Botanical Institute and Tartu University) have put forward demands that are largely similar.

One way or another the impression is being created that the Army is an opponent of perestroyka and is an organization that exists to enact violence and oppress the individual. This, unfortunately, is also the tone of a number of articles in Baltic republic youth publications. The people writing about the modern Army often take a line that is far from being truly democratic and is often simply hysterical. I hope I may be forgiven for saying that many well-wishers have appeared on the scene arguing about the allegedly privileged position of the officer corps and the Army's negative role in resolving the "Afghan question." As for officers' "privileged position," the letter from A. Mordovochkin published recently in PRAVDA is a convincing reply to these "well-wishers."

Insubstantial proposals have been made about switching to a system of recruitment by voluntary hire for military service, or for formations based on the territorial militia principle. It is proposed that active military service be reduced to 1 year, and that existing combat formations and units be replaced by national formations deployed at the draftees' places of residence. This is often discussed by those who have never served in the Army.

I think it is apposite to note that F. Engels repeatedly stressed the supremacy in terms of mobility, organization, and combat effectiveness of a standing (regular) army over a militia. That was also V.I. Lenin's view. Bearing in mind the objective circumstances surrounding the creation of a new, socialist army in a multinational country, Vladimir Ilich noted in spring 1918 that we need a purely international army which should be educated in a spirit of brotherhood among all working people.

As to pacifist sentiments—no, we do not plan to attack anyone. Our steps with regard to unilateral force and arms cuts have been greeted positively in the West. But which of the NATO countries has followed our example? The United States, Britain, the FRG? Nothing of the kind. Are we really entitled to forget this? After all, if a war were to break out despite our wishes and efforts, it would be a war between powers and blocs. Would each republic and its army have to wait until the enemy reached its borders?

Or take another aspect. Could the territorial troops from each republic include all branches and categories of troops or train specialists in every field? Of course not. One more point: Would not this principle of Army recruitment lead to an even greater exacerbation of the current problems in interethnic relations—specifically, with regard to national exclusiveness and isolationism? And wouldn't this promote an intensification of parasitical sentiments and parochialism?

The questions we have to raise today show that definite problems, if not obstacles, emerged in relations between society and the Army in the period when there were so-called "no-go areas for criticism." For a very long time we proclaimed the slogan of the Army's unity with the people while doing very little in practice to implement it.

Let's take an objective look at what is currently being done in our society to train young people for Army service. Is everything in order in our country? By no means. For instance, the health of draftees and their physical, psychological, and, in particular, their moral tempering are a matter for serious concern. With each draft there are more and more guys classified as unfit for service. People in Lithuania are trying to have military instructors removed from the schools.

And what about the question of patronage? I have repeatedly discussed this subject at party and soviet organs in Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. Quite frankly, I was surprised and put on my guard by the statement made by one of the people I talked to: Such patronage is no longer fashionable. Yet what attitude should we take

to the case wherein a senior official at a Latvian Communist Party rayon committee applied to the political directorate asking to be sent a serviceman to address the workers, and then withdrew the request, stating that he could not accept a serviceman because, apparently, the people would not understand him.

Needless to say, we have no right to accuse only civilians of shortcomings in military patronage and mass defense work. A great deal in this respect also depends on workers at military commissariats and military units.

Now more than ever we need mutual understanding, collaboration, and a consolidation of all social forces.

As for the demand about national barracks, I would say yet again that it is unacceptable because it is aimed at bringing about the Army's downfall and reducing the country's defense capability.

International Scientific Church Conference Held

LD0509201889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1348 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow, 5 Sep (TASS)—Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and all Russia sent greetings to the participants of the international scientific church conference, which opened in Moscow today and is dedicated to the 400th anniversary of the establishment of the patriarchate in the Russian Orthodox Church. More than 100 theologians, as well as representatives of secular scientific circles from the USSR and abroad are taking part in this forum. Patriarch Pimen expressed confidence that the conference will further the development of ecumenical dialogue. It will help to strengthen the ties of church and secular circles of the USSR who are concerned with the problems of preserving the people's spiritual and cultural heritage and with its moral renewal.

In the inaugural speech of Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galicia, exarch of the patriarchate in the Ukraine, it was particularly stressed that the church "shares the joys and sorrows of its people." "At the present time," the metropolitan said, "the processes of perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost are underway in our country. The Russian Orthodox Church has stated on more than one occasion that it supports and participates in the renewal of our society. Believers, together with all fellow citizens, are permeated with a profound concern for the present and future of our single and indivisible fatherland."

The greeting of Patriarch Dmitrios I of Constantinopole was read out at the conference, wishing its participants success in their work.

Armenian State Statistics Official Dismissed

NC0709150089 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Summary From Poor Reception] "The Armenian Council of Ministers has relieved Grachik Petrosyan, deputy chairman of the State Statistics Committee, of his post on charges of having exploited his position for profiteering and illicit gain." By concealing the delivery of two consignments of goods intended for a collective, "Petrosyan forged the signatures" on a form of the committee.

Data on Currency Counterfeiting Cited

PM0109092189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Aug 89 First Edition p 4

[Colonel R. Makushin article under the rubric "After the Briefing": "Counterfeiters"]

[Text] In 1987-1988 forged ruble banknotes and U.S. dollar bills to an overall value of R16,203 and $233,180 respectively were removed from circulation in our country.

Journalists at the latest briefing at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] were told that the proportion of cases of the manufacturing and selling of counterfeit money, state securities, and foreign currency is insignificant—0.04 percent—within the overall structure of economic crimes. In the aforementioned 2 years 326 crimes were recorded, including 24 group crimes, and 104 people involved in such crimes were detected. Moreover, in the last 3 years the number of such offenses has dropped 16.5 percent.

Alas, these figures should not set our minds at rest since the nature of the counterfeiters' actions has undergone substantial changes of late and the social menace they represent has increased. This is linked with the fact that, with the use of modern technology and high-quality materials, special paper, and dyes, the counterfeiters are achieving a high degree of similarity between real and fake bank notes and securities.

This is what is interesting: Counterfeit money is sometimes manufactured using equipment at state enterprises and establishments. At present there are approximately 7,000 printing enterprises in operation in the country and more than 50,000 sections equipped with modern copying and duplicating equipment. At these, 3,500 cases of violation of the established regulations for the acquisition, use, and storage of equipment and materials are uncovered every year. There is one reason for this—shortcomings in intradepartmental monitoring.

The number of cases of foreign currency counterfeiting has increased recently. This is not surprising: This currency has increased buying power, which is very important at a time of universal shortages. Internal affairs organs have recently suppressed the activity of four dangerous groups who were organizing the mass manufacture of U.S. bank notes.

Admittedly, counterfeit foreign money also reaches us from abroad. That is one negative side effect of simplifying the procedure for entry into and exit from the

USSR. Thirty-eight instances of counterfeit foreign currency entering the country have been recorded recently.

The MVD is taking steps to combat the counterfeiters; it is strengthening its collaboration with the country's financial establishments and has organized an exchange of information with the USSR Council of Ministers Main Administration for State Customs Control.

Economic

AES Shutdowns, Power Losses Reported for Jul

18220196 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Yu. Rogozhin: "AES: July Passed Peacefully"]

[Excerpt] IZVESTIYA is publishing a regular summary on the work of our country's atomic energy stations [AES]. The newspaper received its first data from the new USSR State Committee for Safety in Industry and the Atomic Power Industry. This committee unites the USSR State Committee for Safety in Atomic Energy and the USSR State Committee for Safety in Industry and Mine Supervision.

During July four unplanned stoppages and five unsanctioned reductions occurred at our country's atomic energy stations. (This in comparison with 19 shutdowns and 11 power decreases in the preceding month.) These incidents were distributed among the stations as follows:

Station	Shutdown	Power Decrease
Balakovo AES	2	1
Kola AES	1	-
Rovno AES	1	-
Zaporozhye AES	-	2
Kalinin AES	-	1
Khmelnitskiy AES	-	1

None of these incidents violated the normative limits for safe operation of an AES. There was no irradiation of personnel and radioactive emissions, and discharges into the atmosphere were no higher than those reached during normal operation.

AES 'Incidents' in Aug; Interview on Safety

PM0709160389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Sep 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Feature by Yu. Rogozhin: "Nuclear Electric Power Stations in August: Information and Commentary"]

[Text] We publish a summary of incidents at nuclear electric power stations [AES] in August prepared for IZVESTIYA by the USSR State Committee for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and the Atomic Power Industry [Gospromatomnadzor SSSR].

In August 1989 44 nuclear power units were in operation. There were 9 unplanned stoppages and 13 unsanctioned reductions in output. The disruption statistics for the stations appear as follows:

Nuclear Station	Stoppages	Output Reductions
Novo-Voronezhskiy	2	2
Rovno	2	0
Kursk	1	2
Zaporozhye	1	1
Khmelnitskiy	1	1
Beloyarskiy	1	0
Kalinin	1	0
Chernobyl	0	4
Ignalina	0	1
Leningrad	0	1
Smolensk	0	1

The radiation situation at all the AES's and in the monitored zones around them did not exceed the limits laid down for normal operation.

N. Shteynberg, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Supervision of Safe Working Practices in the Atomic Power Industry [Gosatomenergonadzor SSSR], answers questions at the request of the editorial board.

[Rogozhin] Nikolay Aleksandrovich, today's summary, like the previous ones, takes account only of incidents at AES's. However, there are nuclear reactors in several scientific research institutes and also on sea-going ships. Does your committee supervise these nuclear installations?

[Shteynberg] Yes, we supervise all nuclear plants used in the interests of the country's national economy. There are research nuclear reactors, various experimental physical test units, and nuclear power plants on five icebreakers and the lighter transporter "Sevmorput." In all, there are more than 20 such installations. Gosatomenergonadzor has banned the operation of research reactors in Tbilisi, Alma-Ata, and Minsk until work has been carried out to enhance their safety. And we are prepared to make public detailed information on all plants.

[Rogozhin] It is known that the public has prevented nuclear-powered ships from calling at ports. A few words in this connection about the state of safety in our nuclear fleet.

[Shteynberg] Six nuclear-powered ships are currently operating in the USSR. There have been no major accidents or damage to nuclear steam-producing plants on ships. Last year there was a violation of the operating regulations on the icebreaker "Rossiya" due to crew negligence. We described that incident in detail in the newspaper VODNYY TRANSPORT at the beginning of this year.

In August damage to auxiliary equipment unconnected with the nuclear plant was recorded on the veteran of the nuclear fleet, the icebreaker "Lenin." In this connection the ship suspended operations for several days. The crew eliminated the defects. If we speak of radiation safety on nuclear-powered ships, we have no remarks or complaints.

We know of the protests against the lighter transporter "Sevmorput" calling at Far Eastern ports; the newspapers wrote a great deal about this. The Ministry of the Maritime Fleet granted to all who wished to do so the opportunity to visit the ship and to convince themselves, with the help of instruments, of its "radiation cleanliness," after which the problem ceased to be so acute. This is one more example of the fact that glasnost, which is opening up previously closed zones, enables the public to obtain information, to interpret it, to draw objective conclusions, and not to be guided by fabrications.

[Rogozhin] Let us now return to the published summary. If everything is more or less calm in nuclear affairs, one wonders what the USSR Gosatomenergonadzor inspectors are doing on the spot.

[Shteynberg] Perhaps the calm is accounted for by the fact that our inspectors are at work. The inspectors have a lot of work, and you can believe me that they are not idle. They are constantly visiting AES's. Their tasks include supervision of operation in strict accordance with safety requirements. Thus, during the first half of 1989, 189 comprehensive and targeted checks were conducted at AES's and in organizations carrying out repair work at AES's, 1,810 violations of the requirements of normative-technical documentation regulations were brought to light and ordered to be eliminated, the operation of power units was suspended 8 times and that of an individual item of equipment 36 times, administrative proceedings were instituted against 131 working people, and 51 working people were dismissed or demoted following representations from USSR Gosatomenergonadzor organs.

Nikonov Attends Party Session on Food Production

LD0709211389 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—A meeting at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee has discussed progress with fulfilling party and government decisions to improve food supplies.

It was attended by Politburo member Viktor Nikonov and the heads of central ministries and agencies.

First secretaries of city party committees, regional governing council chiefs and chairmen of agro-industrial committees at regional and republican levels were also present, reporting on practical measures to boost food production.

An analysis of this work revealed that where the urban industrial and scientific potential has been harnessed to help the agribusiness sector tackle its problems, the situation shows substantial improvement. More and more factories sign direct, mutually advantageous and long-term contracts with farms.

Speakers noted at the same time that many executives are too slow in organising work to fulfil Central Committee decisions on agrarian issues and not active enough in promoting integration between town and country and exercise poor control over the use of capital investments in food and farm produce processing industries and the storage sector.

It was stressed that party committees and local governing councils may not take a passive attitude to problems of improving food supplies or fail to match words with deeds.

Efforts were urged to step up organising work in this priority area, take extra measures to put allotted funds to efficient use, and increase the contribution of cities to food supply improvement.

Agricultural

Ligachev Attends Central Asian Agriculture Talks

LD0709140489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] The seminar-conference which opened in Frunze today is dedicated to the problems of the agro-industrial complex. Party and local soviet and economic personnel of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan and also scientists, leaders of kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms], and front-ranking workers of agroindustrial production are taking part in it. Kirghizia was elected the place for holding the seminar because the republic provides itself with foodstuffs mainly through its own production and it delivers a considerable part of vegetables, potatoes, and meat to other regions of the country. As for the Central Asian republics as a whole, the growth rate of the production of many foodstuffs here is substantially lagging behind the population growth. Participants in the conference visited kolkhozes and sovkhozes and processing enterprises of Kirghizia.

Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is taking part in the work of the seminar-conference.

Agricultural Report for 30 Aug-7 Sep Period

LD0809034389

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian from 30

August to 7 September, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parenthesis at the end of each item.

30 August

Farms in Belorussia are beginning the potato harvest. Just over 300,000 hectares of potatoes are to be harvested in the public sector. The bulk of the harvest will take place in the first 10 days of September. More than 100,000 students are to help with the harvesting. (0400)

31 August

The cotton harvest in Turkmenistan has begun. Plans are to turn over 375,000 tonnes of particularly valuable varieties to the state. (0800)

Belograd Oblast has fulfilled the state order for grain sales; 750,000 tonnes of grain have been delivered to elevators and reception points. (1000)

1 September

Harvesting ended in Kaliningrad Oblast. The gross yield exceeded 500,000 tonnes of grain. The average yield is over 27 quintals per hectares. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT; from the "Novosti" program)

Mass harvesting of potatoes began in Bryansk where around 100,000 hectares is sown to this crop. Over 200 quintals per hectares is being harvested in many farms, but the higest figure is over 300 quintals per hectare. (1100)

2 September

Belorussian farmers met the state order for grain sales. Rye accounted for over two-thirds of the produce marketed. The highest yield was achieved in Grodno Oblast: 39.5 quintals per hectare. The average figure for the republic was 5 quintals per hectare higher than last year. (0600)

In Altay, machine operators cut the grain of over 3 million hectares, which is four-fifths of the grain-producing area. Elevators and grain-processing combines have already received 600,000 tonnes of grain. Elevator operators are now concerned mainly with storing spring wheat, nearly 80 percent of which is in strong, hard, and valuable varieties. (0600)

The Kirghizia valley region kolkhozes and sovkhozes have begun the fourth mowing of perennial grasses. The speed of the green harvest, however, is clearly slower than in former years. The spring frosts and the water shortage during this dry summer have taken their toll. So far, the republic only has 60 percent of the necessary amount of coarse and succulent feed. (0400)

State and collective farms in Ryazan Oblast delivered around 550,000 tonnes of grain to elevators and reception points, thereby fulfilling the state plan for grain sales. (1300)

3 September

No fileworthy items monitored.

4 September

The farms of North Ossetia have begun selling corn. The harvest of new grain seeds has been well cultivated. Each hectare is yielding 45 quintals. The autonomous republic intends not only to fulfill the state order, but also pay off debts from past years. (0104)

In Pavlodar Oblast, Kazakhstan, corn is now being harvested. Harvesting is being carried out on the second million hectares. Just over 5 quintals of grain per hectare, however, are being gathered. A comparatively reasonable harvest has been grown only in the fields of Shcherbaktinskiy and Lebyazhinskiy Rayons, but on the whole, throughout the oblast, drought destroyed many crops. Some farms will not even sell grain to the state. They only have the opportunity of scattering the seeds and storing grain for feed. (0104)

Grain growers in Voroshilovgrad Oblast have fulfilled the plan for supplying grain to the state. Over 360,000 tonnes of wheat of the strong and valuable varieties have been marketed. (0900)

Altay has procured 12,213,000 tonnes of hay. The quality is good. The farms have almost four-fifths of their annual feed requirement. (1300)

In Chita Oblast, the cold and wet summer delayed the ripening of grain. Mass harvesting only got under way today. Excessive moisture in the fields is badly hindering the work, and there is a grave shortage of spare parts for caterpillar-tractor combines and of fuel. In spite of the bad summer, most farms have a good crop and many collectives that are growing strong wheat hope to sell their above-plan grain for hard currency. (1100)

5 September

Lithuanian collective and state farms are completing their grain harvest. A total of 3,400,000 tonnes of grain has arrived at the republic's elevators. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 0700 GMT)

Specialized rice-growing farms in the Kara-Kalpak Autonomous Region have begun harvesting. The crop suffered from lack of water this year. (0204)

The first hundreds of tonnes of grain reached Novosibirsk Oblast feed stocks, to provide assistance to collective and state farms that have suffered from the intense drought. Ten rayons in the Kulunda and Barava Steppe have been declared disaster areas. (0104)

6 September

Amur Oblast fulfilled the state order for grain sales. Over 360,000 tonnes have been sent to the collection points. (0204)

Eighty percent of the whole of Kazakhstan's grain-producing area has been cut and threshed. Many farms have already completed the harvest, and now while the weather is good for harvesting, they are helping their neighbors. Tractors are starting to plow the land and the sowing of winter crops is in process. (0204)

Cotton is being picked in Kirghizia's Osh Oblast. The harvest is good: 25 quintals per hectare on the average. (0204)

Grain has already been harvested from more than 87 million hectares over the whole country, approximately 75 percent of the area sown. Mass reaping is now under way in Siberia and north Kazakhstan. There was a severe drought there and because of this, the harvest is small. Work is being held up by shortages in diesel fuel and petrol which is also leading to grain losses. A further cause of loss and loss of quality in grain is the lack of provision of railway carriages to transport it. Motor vehicles are transporting grain in from abroad while the North Kazakhstan, Odessa, and Volga railways are not fulfilling the plan for supplying cars, although railway workers were warned a long time ago about the mass receipt of grain in these areas. The Volga railways alone, in August, supplied more than 10,000 cars, less than were needed for transporting grain. Belorussia, 14 oblasts of Russia, and 17 oblasts of the Ukraine have, however, already dealt with sales. In the country as a whole the plan has been fulfilled by 53 percent of farms, 46 million tonnes. (1500)

Scientific

'Soyuz TM-8' Spacecraft Docks With Mir Complex

Parameters Prior to Docking

LD0709114189 Moscow TASS in English 0741 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—Crew members Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov are continuing their mission aboard the Soyuz TM-8 space craft.

On Wednesday, they checked the ship's systems and the sealing of its sections. The cosmonauts also maneuvered the craft to close up with the Mir space station.

Current parameters of the craft's orbit are as follows:

—maximum distance from the earth's surface is 378 kilometers,
—minimum distance from the surface is 324 kilometers,
—orbital period is 91.4 minutes,
—inclination—51.6 degrees.

The mission is proceeding normally. Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov are feeling well.

Soyuz TM-8 is expected to dock with the Mir space station on Friday, September 8, at 2 hours and 20 minutes.

Docking Expected To Take 2 Days

LD0709165989 Moscow TASS in English 1402 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS—The docking of the Soyuz TM-8 spacecraft, which carries Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov, with the Mir orbital complex is set for 2:20 Moscow time tomorrow September 8.

The docking will take two days to complete, and experts believe that it will help save energy. In the two days that the spacecraft will be in orbit, ballistics specialists will calculate more precisely the force of an impulse required for the docking.

The two-day scheme proved to be simpler for the cosmonauts as well. It is known that people have difficulty readjusting after a jet lag. The extreme conditions of space have even a greater impact on human body, especially on the first days of the flight. Medical specialists believe that during the two days preceding the docking the crew will better adopt itself to zero-gravity and find it easier to fulfil the mission programme.

At present, the Mission Control Centre is busy preparing the crucial movement of docking.

The "Soyuz TM-8" crew performed two manoeuvres for the remote guidance of the spacecraft to the point of rendezvous with the orbital complex. Everything is in order on board, and the cosmonauts feel well.

TASS Statement Reports Docking

LD0809022689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0115 GMT 8 Sep 89

["TASS Statement"]

[Text] [no dateline as received] On 8 September 1989, the Soyuz TM-8 spacecraft docked on the Mir space station at 0225 Moscow time. After checking the airtightness of the docking port, Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov transferred to a compartment of the station.

The Mir station has been operating in near-earth orbit for over 3 and ½ years; the station has been manned for 880 days of this time. During that time, four lengthy expeditions and four international crews, with the participation of cosmonauts from Syria, Bulgaria, Afghanistan, and France, have worked on board.

Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov will reactivate the station and unload the Progress-M automatic craft. The cosmonauts will continue the research and experiments program, started by previous crews, in the field of astrophysics, as well as investigation of the earth's natural resources, space biology, medicine, and technology.

The subsequent program provides for the docking with the Mir station of two specialized modules fitted with a

new scientific apparatus and equipment, which will significantly boost the effectiveness of research for the benefit of science and the national economy.

According to the telemetric information data, the on-board systems of the manned station are working normally. Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov feel fine.
[Issued] (TASS) 8 September

Cosmonauts Overcome Docking 'Defect'

LD0809074389 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Two Soviet cosmonauts, Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov, have begun research work on the orbital complex Mir.

Today their spaceship, the Soyuz TM-8 itself located the station, flew around it and approached the docking port. There were only a few metres left when the automatic devices developed a defect and the commander of the crew, Aleksandr Viktorenko, had to use manual control to link up with the station.

Vladimir Shatalov, who is in charge of the cosmonauts' training center, told a Radio Moscow reporter that such things occasionally happen in orbit. He said the spacemen acted with great precision; they calmly completed the linkup operation and went over on the Mir station. [passage omitted]

Further Details Given on Docking

LD0809102789 Moscow TASS in English 0953 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Moscow September 8 TASS—TASS correspondent reporting from mission control centre:

Cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov got some sleep only at 9.00 Moscow time today after docking with the Mir space station two days after the launch. They will now grow accustomed to their new home where they will spend the next six months.

At night, the automatically controlled Soyuz TM-8 spacecraft slowly and smoothly approached the station. Everything appeared to be normal. But with less than four metres left to cover, the station suddenly shifted and went out of the spacecraft's sight.

Soyuz TM-8 immediately stopped in front of the massive orbital complex. The crew started checking the readings of instruments monitoring the work of on-board systems. The crew reversed the spacecraft to 20 metres from the station and stopped. There were 21 minutes left before reaching the end of the zone of contact with the earth. Soyuz TM-8 again began to approach Mir, this time illuminating it with the headlight. The docking took place at 2.25 Moscow time.

After the orbital complex, Mir-Kvant-Progress M-Soyuz TM-8, left the zone of contact, a briefing was held for journalists at the centre.

"In the two days that the manned spacecraft spent 'catching up' with the station at a lower orbit, no changes were made to the programme suggested by mission control centre," mission head Vladimir Solovyev said. "But in the last few metres of automatic docking the planes of the spacecraft and the station became misaligned. Docking was completed manually. This was not an emergency, but only one of the available options, like automatic docking. Many cosmonauts think manual steering is more reliable."

From September 4 preparations have been under way for attaching a new re-equipment module to the orbital complex. According to Solovyev, the module will most likely be launched on October 16 and docked with the complex on October 23 after a week manoeuvering in space.

'Openness' on Space Program, 1988 Cost Noted

PM0709150589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Sep 89 Second Edition p 4

[N. Dombkovskiy article under the general heading: "New Orbit for Space Home"]

[Text] Baykonur—At exactly 0700 local time the doors of the installation and testing building opened and the off-white launcher was reversed out. A small diesel locomotive slowly edged its unusual load forward at walking pace. By tradition it was driven by Yuriy Fedorovich Grintsov.

However, scarcely had the rocket left the building than something unlikely happened. We know from old newsreels that rockets used to be accompanied to the launch pad by Korolev and other chief designers. But this time.... The more than 100 Soviet and foreign journalists attending the launch literally surrounded the locomotive and the platform in front of the launcher. One of them—the most daring—clambered onto the roof of the locomotive to get a picture of the apricot glow of sunrise framing the outline of "Soyuz." What can we say—interest in the Soviet space program, which has switched to the path of openness, is now unusually high worldwide. I took the opportunity on behalf of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA readers to put a question to Hero of Socialist Labor K.A. Kerimov, chairman of a state commission, and Yu.P. Semenov, general designer of space systems:

[Dombkovskiy] What is the cost of Soviet space programs?

[Answer] Our country spent R1.3 billion on space exploration in 1988. The money went on developing and launching communications, television, and navigation satellites, the Energiya and Buran complexes, and manned flights.

I asked Lieutenant General V.A. Shatalov, chief of the Cosmonaut Training Center, another question of interest to readers—the question of cosmonauts' pay.

"One often hears completely absurd fabrications about cosmonauts' pay," he said. "I can state the following for the record: A pilot-cosmonaut's monthly salary varies between R300 and R400 depending on experience. Serving members of the Armed Forces receive the relevant military pay. Those who have made five spaceflights and have qualified as cosmonaut first class earn a 20-percent bonus."

After the rocket was in place systems checks began along with other preparations and fueling.

K.A. Kerimov: "This expedition is intended to last 6 months. During this period the crew (by all accounts it will comprise Pilot-Cosmonauts of the USSR Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov) will have to prepare the station to receive a transporter and two modules, which will substantially enlarge the possibilities afforded by the 'home in orbit.'"

G.V. Sergeyev, USSR deputy minister of health: "I would like to note that the 6-month duration of the flight is dictated not by concern about the crew's health but by their work schedule."

So flight preparations have entered their final phase.

Correspondent Cites Space Program Cost, Benefits

LD0709181189

[Editorial Report] Moscow World Service in English at 0310 GMT 7 September broadcasts a 5-minute interview on the Soviet space program with science correspondent Boris Belitskiy, by an unidentified presenter.

The presenter begins the interview by asking Belitskiy to state "bluntly how much money has gone into funding the Soviet nonmilitary space program?"

Belitskiy gives the following answer: "The total spent on this work is less than R20 billion—that is, in all the 33 years since the space age began. Current expenditure stands at R1.7 billion a year, which, by the way, is less than 1 percent of the national budget and is probably one-tenth of America's expenditure in this field. This R20 billion investment has yielded economic benefits totalling R12 billion and the benefits are slated to increase very rapidly for several reasons." Belitskiy goes on to say that these reasons include the commerically profitable aspects of the space program "such as the leasing of Soviet launchers and other hardware to users in other countries." He further explains that the more expensive aspects of the program, such as the number of planned flights by the space shuttle "Buran," are being reduced. He ends his explanation by saying the spin-off technologies from the space program are now being given more attention. He does not give any specific examples.

Military

Gen Krivosheyev Hits Draft Deferment, Exceptions

PM0709145789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Aug 89 First Edition p 2

["Viewpoint" article by Colonel General G. Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff: "On the Universality of Military Service"]

[Text] The press, radio, and TV recently have been extensively, busily, and diversely reflecting issues linked with the life and activity of the USSR Armed Forces. One cannot fail to notice the fact that many articles on this subject tend to be unobjective and unfriendly, and display a prejudiced attitude to the Army.

Unfortunately, the shaping of the civilian audience's opinion on defense issues is still mainly handled by nonprofessionals.

A number of the authors of these articles and TV and radio broadcasts have a highly remote idea of the Army and make use in their arguments of all possible rumors, fabrications, and uncorroborated facts. Yet many of them not only failed to fulfill their sacred duty as Soviet citizens to defend the socialist fatherland in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces, but are even proud of the fact.

Even some USSR people's deputies, unfortunately, do not think that active military service by Soviet citizens should be compulsory.

B. Rogatin, USSR people's deputy and member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, made official representations to the USSR defense minister, which boiled down to asking for the release of certain categories of sportsmen from active military service, replacing it with short-term military training meetings instead.

Questions are being raised about granting draft deferments to students accepted by technical colleges after graduation from secondary school, and to offset time spent training in the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy against the draft term, which fundamentally contravenes the USSR law "On Universal Military Service."

Various kinds of pacifist sentiments have become widespread among the young people being drafted into the Army and Navy. Demands are being made for military service to be done on the territories of people's "own republics"—that is, clear opposition to the extraterritorial principle of troop staffing. I have already stated my view on this issue. The deployment of troops and naval forces and the USSR Armed Forces' concomitant requirement for people in a number of regions bears no relation to the presence of draft resources among those forces; the territorial principle of staffing presupposes the deployment of groupings not where the state's defense interests demand, but where the draftees live.

The task of defending the USSR is a statewide task. The USSR law "On Universal Military Service" states: "All male Soviet citizens, irrespective of their provenance, social or property status, racial or ethnic origin, education, language, religious affiliation, type and nature of work, or place of residence are obliged to undergo active military service in the USSR Armed Forces."

The law should seemingly be carried out. But, in practice: Is military service so respected nowadays, is the principle of its universality so unshakable—that is, can we seriously talk about social justice with regard to the questions of fulfilling the constitutional duty of defending our fatherland? Regrettably, an unambiguously affirmative answer to these questions cannot be given.

During the 11th and 12th 5-Year Plans serious difficulties arose with staffing the Armed Forces from regular drafts. These difficulties were the consequence of the second demographic drop in birth rate in 1961-1969—a drop that was a distant consequence of the Great Patriotic War and the large number of releases from the draft for various reasons (involving up to 60 percent of the country's draft resources).

Our party and government took urgent measures to supply the USSR Armed Forces with personnel. One of these measures was the decision to temporarily suspend draft deferments for day students at higher educational establishments [VUZ] until 1990. Unwittingly, this was also the last attempt to ensure social justice on the question of drafting citizens for military service.

However, this measure immediately triggered desperate opposition from a certain section of the population, mainly representatives of the administrative and managerial apparatus and the scientific, creative, and technical intelligentsia. The press has been publishing articles demanding more and more often that draft deferments for VUZ students be reinstated and describing the very fact of a draft for this category of individuals as a "crude military approach," "out-and-out foolishness," and so forth.

Without debating the negative aspects of drafting students to active military service during their VUZ studies (and there are negative aspects, of course) it is worthwhile determining just how substantial are the arguments that have mainly been voiced by the chorus of opponents of this measure. In this connection I would like to cite without any commentary certain extracts from the article "What Will Happen If This All Comes About" by Doctor of Technical Sciences V. Aynshteyn (from the magazine ZNANIYE-SILA No 6, 1987). I quote: "People usually compare the number of engineers produced in our country and the United States. The United States trained 61,000 engineers in 1950, 41,000 in 1965, and 57,000 in 1974-1975; the corresponding figures for our country were 37,000, 170,000, and 304,000. By 1985 the 'production' of engineers had stabilized in our country, while in the United States the figure had risen to 70-80,000, according to certain figures." He continues: "In our country graduate engineers leave their jobs to go into other work and more prestigious spheres of activity—just 10 years ago there were over a million VUZ engineering graduates.... The billions of rubles spent on training these specialists have been wasted capital."

That was the actual state of affairs with regard to the problem of engineering cadres in the national economy. As far as the scientific aspect is concerned, the Defense Ministry's constructive proposal to resolve the question of releasing from the draft gifted and talented young people who would comprise the flower of our science in the near future, rather than unjustifiably releasing all VUZ students, was rejected outright. It was rejected in just the same way that the proposal that young men do their military service before starting their VUZ courses—which would have avoided any interruption to their studies—was rejected.

No, the only thing needed was a return to the past—the complete release from military service of a very large group of people representing mainly specific sections of society!

And now the 10 April 1989 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On Amendments to the USSR Law 'On Universal Military Service'" has reinstated draft deferments in order to allow students at all day (full-time) VUZ's to continue their education.

At the same time, a procedure has been established for granting reserve officer rank without the need to carry out active military service to VUZ graduates who have undergone training at military faculties and training rallies with the troops (or in fleets) and have passed the set examinations for military training.

The period of military service for VUZ graduates who have not served with the USSR Armed Forces, trained at military faculties, and are not registered in the reserve officer corps is set at 1 year.

Thus, the bulk of young people registered with the reserve officer corps after graduating from VUZ's with military faculties (and this accounts for almost two-thirds of all male VUZ graduates) are not drafted for active military service. And only 2-4 percent of the annual number of VUZ graduates registered with the reserve officer corps are actually drafted to the Army and Navy for 2 years, but even they would have officer rank.

It is very interesting that in the period when students were drafted for active military service during their VUZ studies there was a widespread campaign to reduce and even abolish military training for students (there was no short-term advantage to it—people still had to serve). The picture is totally different today. Following the publication of the 10 April decree, there have been persistent demands to open military faculties in as many VUZ's as possible.

Of course, this position hardly accords with the principle of the universality of military service and places a certain section of young people on an unequal footing compared with citizens who undergo active military service.

If one also bears in mind the fact that the country's VUZ's receive the bulk of their entrants from the cities, where education and training standards are incomparably higher than in the countryside, then this is an even greater violation of social justice with regard to the fulfillment of the constitutional duty of defending the socialist fatherland and takes on a clearly ambiguous nature.

At a time when there is a continuing shortage of draft resources and a need to maintain the USSR Armed Forces at a high level of combat readiness, we are having to draft all rural young people and those working young people from the cities who are not entitled to deferment. Naturally, this cannot fail to be reflected at least on the resolution of the food problem, since all young people fit for military service are drafted each year from villages, which can lead to negative social consequences.

It should also be borne in mind that, even in the cities, far more VUZ entrants are children from families of the intelligentsia, the managerial apparatus, or the services sphere, and far fewer are from workers' families. In general there are grounds for worrying that after a certain time the younger generation of the Soviet intelligentsia, as well as certain other sections of the population, will be represented in the USSR Armed Forces to a very insignificant extent—all the more so if one bears in mind the continuing attempts to expand the categories of people who are actually released from military service.

Regrettably, instances of parents of draftees making no bones about stating either verbally or in writing that their sons should not serve in the Army because they were not created for this purpose and do not think of themselves in terms of the Army are by no means isolated cases. All sorts of attempts are made to at least obtain a deferment as an initial step. And often this behavior is displayed by those who preach the importance of "good and eternal values" to us in the cinema, on TV, on the Moscow stage, and in newspaper articles filled with impassioned patriotic writing!

In justifying the importance of the universality of military service in close conjunction with the need to fulfill the USSR law "On Universal Military Service," which is entirely logical, I would like to approach the problem from other angles too. For instance, our state maintains an Army not to wage war on other territories but to defend its own fatherland. Such wars, as V.I. Lenin put it, are conducted by peoples, and a people—not just part of it (the least worthy or least protected part)—should prepare for them. But that is not all.

We should not forget our Army's educational function. We can hardly ignore this function for some young people. For in the Army they have a great schooling in moral and physical tempering, patriotism, and internationalism. And all these qualities are needed not just by workers and kolkhoz members, but by future engineers and creative workers, too.

I cannot fail to touch on the question of the failure to observe the principle of social justice with regard to the term of active military service in the Navy.

Currently, able seamen and petty officers from naval ships, vessels, and coastal combat backup units, along with border guards' maritime units, serve for 3 years. This situation produces "anti-3-year" attitudes among the draftees and their parents.

The Defense Ministry has worked out proposals to be put to the USSR Supreme Soviet on switching to 2-year service in the Navy. This is a difficult issue. It may take several years to resolve and will require additional draft resources, a certain amount of material expenditure on reorganizing the Navy's educational network, and other measures. But it must be resolved.

As is well known, there are formations within the USSR Armed Forces such as military-construction detachments and USSR civil defense units. These formations mainly carry out national economic tasks, although these are not stipulated under the USSR Constitution. In connection with the demographic situation in the country and the shortage of draft resources, such units will have to be staffed by draftees with various health limitations and even by convicts.

The USSR Supreme Soviet will have to implement a number of measures in order to restore social justice with regard to the fulfillment of the constitutional duty of defending the socialist fatherland by military construction workers.

The adoption of the resolution to reinstate draft deferments for students at all day (full-time) VUZ's has not reassured the numerous writers of press articles and the authors of television broadcasts who campaigned for draft deferment for VUZ students. There has been a new wave of demands for students at day (full-time) VUZ's drafted into the USSR Armed Forces in 1986-1988 to be released early to the reserve in order to continue their education.

The 11 July 1989 USSR Supreme Soviet resolution met this demand. It is typical that after the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution was announced, Central television commentators told the people: "This is our first victory, a victory for the USSR Supreme Soviet." It is pertinent to ask—a victory over whom? Was the suspension of draft deferment for VUZ students in 1982 and 1984 implemented at the decision of the USSR Defense Ministry?

The early release of servicemen who studied at VUZ's before being drafted contravenes the USSR law "On Universal Military Service" and violates the principle of social justice with regard to the fulfillment of a constitutional duty. The fact that this action also directly

affects the level of combat readiness of the Armed Forces as a whole should be noted, too. After all, it is a question of 176,000 servicemen who are the commanders of platoons, details, and divisions, radar operators, and highly skilled specialists on submarines and surface ships and in combat subunits. There is virtually nobody to replace them. There is also another aspect to this question. Many soldiers, sergeants, able seamen, and petty officers are voicing the opinion that the USSR law "On Universal Military Service" is losing its force and that service in the USSR Armed Forces is not considered an honorable duty by all citizens. There has been an artificial division of young people: some are fulfilling their duty to defend the motherland, while others are not.

Many soldiers, sergeants, able seamen, and petty officers eligible for early release to the reserve have sent letters and appeals to their commanders asking for permission to serve out their full term rather than taking early release.

Here is what citizen A.D. Kiryushina of Moscow writes in her letter to the defense minister. "I'm 84 years old and a grandmother. My grandson is currently serving in the USSR Armed Forces. I think the USSR Supreme Soviet decision on granting students early release to the reserve is wrong and ill-conceived. Such separate measures will really be the downfall of the Army. What sort of pressure will there now be on those guys who stay on to do their service? We have one motherland and everyone should defend it." There have been many similar letters.

We cannot fail to take all this into account. All the more so as some of the mass media continue to conduct a campaign aimed at creating a negative attitude among young people toward service in the USSR Armed Forces. An increasing number of young people avoid active military service and refuse to take the military oath for religious reasons. As a rule, these are not guys who have left their machine tools, construction sites, or tractors.

On the whole, I would very much like to believe that the time will nonetheless come when we will be forced to go back to the old romantic name for our society's armed detachment—the Red Army of Workers and Peasants. But, as practice shows, we are moving toward this.

Political Guidance Urged for Press Subscriptions

PM0809095789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Sep 89 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Political Organs and the Press"]

[Text] Now that glasnost and openness are becoming a norm of life in Soviet society, interest in the press is unprecedented. Our press actively supports the party's perestroyka course and is playing an important part in developing democracy. But, as was noted at the July conference of first secretaries of union republic Communist Party central committees and party kray committees [kraykoms] and oblast committees [obkoms] at the CPSU Central Committee, this does not mean that all is well and it has no problems to contend with. Deficiencies in the coverage of various spheres of life and a lack of constructiveness and consistency in upholding positions can be sensed. The party's task is to do all it can to make the press operate more effectively and serve as well as possible the interests of the people, the cause of socialism, and the principles of humanity.

Political organs' and party committees' work with the press is multifaceted. It comprises political leadership of editorial offices' activities, the use of newspapers and journals in political education work, the organization of subscriptions, and propaganda of party, soviet, and military publications—in short, a large and important area of ideological work. It is obvious today that much reinterpretation needs to be done here and new approaches have to be mastered.

Often diametrically opposite, mutually exclusive opinions are voiced in the press on the same events of public life, suggesting that the interests of different social forces are involved. This is a reality political organs and party committees cannot ignore. In fact, they must keep an eye on the entire media spectrum, analyze the positions that are expressed in the different publications, and see the way particular ones affect people's, including servicemen's, mood and consciousness and the shaping of public opinion.

We can still remember the days when newspapers and journals expressing a viewpoint that was not generally accepted would be simply removed from soldiers' libraries by order of certain political organs and subscription to periodicals was tightly controlled. It is a fact that publications were sometimes imposed on people against their will. Today such methods are unacceptable. And this appears to have caused confusion in a number of political organs and party committees. Now some of them have gone to the other extreme: They have simply ceased to be interested in what soldiers and seamen, warrant officers, and officers are reading. In some places the conduct of the subscription campaign is essentially farmed out to subordinates. There is no analysis of its results, or only a nominal one.

All work with the press, including subscription, has always been a political matter. Indeed, no one has the right to dictate to someone what he should read. But it is the clear duty of political organs and party committees and bureaus to guide him through the ocean of publications and help him select those which can contribute most effectively to his ideological, professional, and cultural growth. Certainly it is much more difficult to interest a person in a particular publication and convince him of the need to subscribe to it than it is to "pressure" him into it. But it is the only way today.

It should be stressed that subscriptions for 1990 are taking place in special conditions. The reduction of the Armed Forces and withdrawal of substantial troop contingents from groups of Soviet forces abroad and their

relocation demands highly efficient and well-judged actions by the personnel of political directorates and political departments. It is a matter not only of careful selection and instruction of subscription organizers in units and agents in subunits and prompt supplies of forms and other essential documents. A broader view must be taken of the matter: Wherever the unit, ship, or subunit is situated, all the conditions must be created enabling everyone to subscribe to the publications he requires in good time and without any problems.

It must also be borne in mind that subscriptions for 1990 closes earlier than in past years. The final day, as laid down by the USSR Ministry of Communications, is 30 September. This means that there is no time to lose. Are political organs and subscription organizers abreast of the situation? According to the figures for the end of August, in the Armed Forces 26 percent of last year's subscribers had subscribed to PRAVDA, 32 percent to IZVESTIYA, and 28 percent to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. The picture is similar for many other publications. Why? Have readers across the board suddenly lost interest in newspapers and journals? No, it is not that, of course. The point is that in some units and formations subscriptions have been put off until the very last weeks and ground must be made up. How, for example, do you explain the fact that in the Belorussian and Kiev Districts and in the Northern Fleet the subscription process is running smoothly and is essentially nearing completion; whereas in the Pacific Ocean Fleet, the Western Group of Forces, and the Transbaykal and Siberian Districts, for instance, it is proceeding at only one-half or even one-third of that pace? It must be due to different methods of organization and different approaches to subscribers' needs.

Many newspapers and journals, including military ones, are taking a closer look at what concerns people today. They are investigating areas that were previously closed to criticism, and they are trying to widen contacts with the most diverse categories of readers. But alongside the growth of interest in the press, the readership is making increasing demands on press organs. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA receives thousands of letters every month. Their authors note that the paper is expanding its coverage of public life, perestroyka in the country and in the Armed Forces, and ethnic relations. At the same time there has been criticism, and many constructive suggestions have been made. Publication of more trenchant, thought-provoking items on topical issues of military building. More thorough coverage of issues of ideological work, in particular international education. Readers expect more substantial accounts of glorious and painful chapters in the fatherland's history, of patriotism and the continuity of the best traditions, and of the exploits of Great Patriotic War veterans and "Afghaners." All this prompts the editorial board to analyze its own work self-criticially, and to strive to strengthen links with readers and establish a frank dialogue with people on the most pressing issues of perestroyka.

Little time remains now before the end of the subscription campaign. During this period it is particularly important that political organs and party committees should make a greater effort in such a crucial area as work with the press.